

HOUSING COOPERATIVES
AS A TOOL OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT
IN
ADANA

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AS A TOOL OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN ADANA**

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ABSTRACT

HOUSING COOPERATIVES AS A TOOL OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN ADANA

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Housing problem had firstly emerged in Ankara after the establishment of Turkish Republic and increased after the 2nd World War. With the population increases in the cities, due to the migration from rural to urban areas, the housing need have increased also as well as the other requirements. Housing Cooperatives that had first developed at 1934 represent a new type of licensed residence. Some precautions such as financial support were taken by the governments to solve this continuously rising housing problem. Therefore, the housing cooperatives had been supported effectively by the governments especially after 1960's. In 1980's, the housing necessity caused different searches in governmental level. Then, a clear resurgence observed in the housing sector with the means of Mass Housing laws accepted.

The housing efforts in Adana had been accelerated with the establishments of housing cooperatives after 1960's and the constructions had performed great leaps nearly in every decade. This thesis analyzes the effects of housing cooperatives on the urban development of Adana city.

Keywords: Housing Cooperatives, Site Selection, Urban Development.

ÖZ

ADANANIN KENTSEL GELİŞİMİNDE BİR ARAÇ OLARAK KONUT KOOPERATİFLERİ

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Türkiye’ de, Cumhuriyetin ilanı ile birlikte ilk Ankara’da ortaya çıkan konut sorunu II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası hız kazanmıştır. Kırsaldan kentlere olan göçün yarattığı nüfus artışına paralel olarak konut ve kentsel altyapı hizmetler gereksinimi de çoğalmış ve büyük boyutlara ulaşmıştır. Ruhsatlı konut sunum biçimlerinden biri olan konut kooperatifleri ile konut üretiminin ilk ortaya çıkışı 1934'lere dayanmaktadır. Ankara’da başlayan devlet finansmanı destekli konut kooperatifleri ile konut üretimi 1960’lı yıllardan sonra giderek artmıştır. 1980’lere gelindiğinde konut ihtiyacı ulaştığı yüksek boyutu ile bu alanda yeni düzenlemeler yapma ihtiyacını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Toplu Konut Yasaları gündeme gelmiş ve bu yasalar ile birlikte konut sektöründe bir canlanma söz konusu olmuştur.

Adana’da ise 1960’larda başlayan kooperatifleşme ile konut edinilme çabaları yaklaşık her 10 yılda bir sıçramalar göstermiştir. Bu tez kapsamında, konut yapı kooperatiflerinin yer seçimlerinin Adana kentinin kentsel gelişimindeki etkileri incelenmeye çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Konut Yapı Kooperatifleri, Yer Seçim, Kentsel Gelişme

To My Beloved Wife and Son

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Scope of the Study

From the time being, people live on the plots of land that consist of various types of safe places for themselves. This is an instinct for survival necessities that protects from the adverse climatic and environmental conditions.¹ People in general, need to feel themselves in secure not only against the nature but also against all the others of a society except their families, if any. The spatial organization of those plots consisting of the various physical types of places for living, working and being socialized with the means of transportation to tie them up is called a settlement, in short.

It is observed that there were always orientations in the development of settlements by the natural and/or artificial restrictions in the history of mankind. Some of the natural restrictions are watery such as edges of a sea, a lake or a river and swamp areas, etc. while the others are of earth such as edges of high hills, cliffs or the foots of mountains, deserts, etc.

Some of the restrictions are artificial (manmade) such as boundaries set for the protection of fertile lands with irrigation canals, forests, military areas and government investment reservations (free zones for trade and for production of goods and energy, etc.), besides the reservoirs of cultural and natural heritage.

There is a third kind of restriction (or maybe indirect orientation) that is men's preferences to meet their needs and to provide conveniences. The

¹ ŞAŞMAZ, C., 1988; p: 5

order may differ in time and due to the priorities of the society, but the distance to the production materials and/or trading places were always had a great importance.

At the very first beginning, the main instincts for settling were the distance to the water sources for their thirst, food gathering and hunting besides the distance to appropriate quarries (then mines later on) for production of implements were also important. The distance was important because there were severe restrictions on the means (mostly with man or animal power) of transportation. So the shelters and later on the dwellings were located somewhere between or around those fundamental resources of living.

With modern times, mankind showed a great development in the means of transportation for goods and services with the use of machineries. With this help the priority of distance has been changed from being close to the resources into some personal expectations from the close environment such as “a house in a green garden for living free and alone tree in a manmade wood” (i.e. with other members of the same society).

This great change in the characteristics of the instinct of having a shelter/dwelling or a house has become one of the main designator in the orientation of spatial organization in modern cities via housing.

1.2. Aim of the Study

Since, the early times Adana was acting as a capital of the region because of its potentials offering great opportunities to the ruling powers. The first potential is related with, being a junction on main trade roads for caravans from west to northeast, east and southeast directions. Adana was the only toll bridge near a large river on these trade lines over the centuries. The second potential is related with the large fertile lands and rich natural environment.

These potentials had made Adana as a universal point of attraction since that era. But there are very few researches on the development of the spatial organization in Adana. It may be claimed that works on urban development had started with the republic in Adana, because first recorded and detailed modern planning efforts had started at 1935-1940. Up to that time, there were left a few sketches of maps which showing present roads, bridges and small open spaces besides some buildings.

Such a city, like Adana should be planned or at least examined in details how the tendencies of the urban development occurred, and how it will be. Because the lack of this studies the development was only under control of the ruling powers. So, Adana unfortunately enlarged but not developed ²as a “centre of a region” or a modern metropolitan should be.

In this study, housing cooperatives (as one of the six important elements in provision of housing³) will be examined as a tool of orientation the people of a city and the impact of them in the urban development with will be discussed on Adana Case.

1.3. Method of the Study

This study is generally based on the author’s works, plans of his own and knowledge gathered during his entire working life spent as a city planner, as a cooperative member and as a part-time instructor besides as a NGO member being active in different levels for his home Adana, since 1979.

Some documents were old and only a fade blue copy of hand-drawn. Some could be taken only as digital copies. There were also some interviews has been made with people who live in sites researched. The plans and most of the photographs are of author’s personal archives.

² ERGİNKAYA, C.K.;1996, p:14

³ ŞAŞMAZ, C., 1988; p: 9

1.4. Outline of the Study

This study has been undertaken in seven chapters. The first chapter constitutes a brief and informative background of how spatial organizations emerged and oriented by housing in general, while physical, social and economical meaning of a house is discussed in the second chapter.

In the third chapter, a brief history of the cooperatives is given. The rise and the development of cooperative systems in some countries are discussed with the principles of cooperatives. And housing cooperatives are studied along with the other types of the cooperatives.

In the fourth chapter, emerging of Housing Cooperatives in the world and their developments in Turkey will be researched.

In the fifth chapter some related data for Adana city are given. The data starts with a brief History of Adana and Çukurova Region then continues part by part with geographic and demographic information of Adana. There is also given the changes in city macro-form due to the economic development of the region with presenting some guiding framework of spatial development for Adana.

Chapter six focuses primarily on the urbanization and the existing housing stock in Adana towards the year 2000. In the second part of the chapter, the beginning of the housing cooperatives and the physical changes occurred in their sites by time will be discussed in Adana. Furthermore the impact of housing cooperatives on urban development related with approaches of the local Municipalities to this phenomenon will be discussed, also.

Finally, the last chapter evaluates the facts and devotes the conclusion with regard to the facts provided.

CHAPTER 2

WHAT IS A HOUSE?

Everyone spends nearly half of his daily life in a closed and definitely safe place where one can live as an active (for individual need of washing, feeding, dressing, breeding, etc.) or as a passive (resting and/or sleeping) human being, while providing other social and modern conveniences.

This safe place was may be a shelter (a basic architectural structure or building that provides cover⁴) once, but now is generally called a “house” rather than dwelling. But, there is an important difference between “house” and “home”. The house promotes the physical and objective values where home represents the complex psychological processes, social transactions, experimental and behavioral dimensions. In daily usage we prefer to use the word home because of these factors. ⁵

The term *house* also includes many kinds of dwellings ranging from rudimentary huts of nomadic tribes to complex structures composed of many systems where dwelling is about the home of any place for habitation.⁶ So, a house is not only a building for a secure place, but also is an economic and a social asset.

It is an economic asset, because at first, one needs to have enough value (money or some other assets) or to earn and save more if not, to own it. And second, it can be also in sale, whenever one needs financial support or may be more rant for his enterprises, etc.

⁴ Wikipedia, <http://www.wikipedia.org.en>

⁵ ERSOY, Z.; 2002; p:vii

⁶ Wikipedia, <http://www.wikipedia.org.en>

It is a social asset at the same time, because it is a direct mean of social status with economic welfare in any society ever existed. That is the reason why one gets wealthier, intends to have more greater and imposing houses to have an upper level in the social strata.

The basic characteristics of a house are strongly related to the concept of privacy. People mostly desire separate places so that, separation from the close environment just as important as the protection for safety. Probably this will of separate houses is deeply related with a very old instinct hiding inside for keeping a distance between others to obtain time for the self defense and/or family protection besides providing privacy. Therefore, a house may be defined as "...a collection of facilities for the exclusive use of separate social group called a household."⁷

The relations and the functions among those houses (i.e. buildings) and open spaces around them create and determine the size and the type (urban or rural) of the settlements. The largest parts of those settlements are mostly the "housing areas" with more than at least 30-35 % of the total.

The need of housing units has to be calculated in order to understand production and supply accompanying to estimate the size and the type of housing areas, too. The need of housing is divided into two aspects as for static and dynamic. Static housing units need is the difference in presence of the housing units build and ready to use with the number of households. The dynamic housing need is related with estimating the future number of housing units and so the housing areas.⁸ The construction and the use of a housing unit depend upon the fulfillment of a large number of different functions ranging from planning the land and application it into plots, to its control and management.

⁷ ŞAŞMAZ, C.; 1988; p:5

⁸ KELEŞ, R.; 1982; p:15

The functions related to housing constructions are implemented by three groups of actors:⁹

- The owners of the housing units and/or urban land plots
- The entrepreneurs and/or contractors
- The State (government and/or local authorities)

The different forms of housing supply get in shape parallel with the role played by these three groups of actors in the production process. There are two ways of supplying the housing units as for with legal or illegal forms of construction, in general: ¹⁰

a) Legal form of housing construction supplies the units with means below within the planned housing areas due to the restrictions and bylaws:

- Production by Individuals,
- Production by public authorities,
- Production by Housing Cooperatives,
- Production by Built and Sale (yap-sat*) method,
- Production by Mass Housing Construction firms,
- Production by the Housing Cooperative Unions and Municipalities.

b) Illegal forms of housing supplies the units with means below within the planned or mostly unplanned outskirts of cities due to no restrictions:

- Individual and semi-organized “gecekondu” productions,
- Constructions without any permits.

⁹ ŞAŞMAZ, C., 1988; p: 9

¹⁰ TEKELİ, İ.,1982 p:62

Gecekondu Yasası (Gecekondu Law No: 775, approved in 1966), defines the “gecekondu” as “*the buildings that were constructed on the land parcels against the valid acts and rules without the permission of the owner(s)*”¹¹

But there are different points of views, for instance; “it is an urgently constructed house with primitive materials and techniques used in unhealthy conditions against the valid acts and rules”¹² is one of them.

There is a basic dispute between social planners and economy planners on a housing unit whether is a matter of investment or is a consumer good. This argument is related with the productivity of the housing investments in general. According to economical point of views, it is an unproductive investment good with no revenues in profit maximization compare to other economic issues hence it is an inflation generator in the country so that governments should not make direct investments on housing and let the people do it with their own capacities.

The social planners, on the contrary, claim that a housing unit is not only an economic asset but also a social phenomenon which increases the productivity of the people if it provides a proper environment. Furthermore, the investments on housing have side effects on other economic sectors such as production in construction goods, furniture and other household goods, kitchen wares, electronic appliances of any kind, etc.¹³ In Turkey, it is assumed that construction sector is one of the driving powers of the economy and housing is the main part of it.

Yap-Sat*: It is an expression to explain a barter type method used to construct a building on a land parcel up on a legal agreement between the land owner and the contractor. With this agreement, the contractor (which mostly the constructor at the same time) hands over to the landowner some units of the building constructed, in return.

¹¹KELEŞ, R.; 1978, p:181

¹²EKE, F.; p: 1

¹³KELEŞ, R.; 1978, p:104

CHAPTER 3

A BRIEF HISTORY OF COOPERATIVES

3.1. What is a Cooperative?

A **cooperative** ("coop") is an autonomous association of persons who voluntarily cooperate for their mutual social, economic, and cultural benefit.¹⁴ Cooperatives are non-profit community organizations and businesses that are jointly-owned and democratically-controlled enterprise. So it must meet the needs of potential members. It is very important to ensure that workers themselves have expressed their needs and understand the benefit that a cooperative may bring them.¹⁵

The term cooperative, which was used at very first by Robert OWEN in English¹⁶, is originated from the French word "*coopérative*" which is derived "*Cooperatio*" in Latin and means "collaboration".

A cooperative is also a brilliant idea to overcome the costly economic problems together instead of individually. So, not only the individuals but also the governments took the advantages of this brilliant idea, as a result of the harsh globalization process.

As known, the private sectors are basically concerned in "profit" both in production and consumption, while public sectors naturally have to seek the interests of a nation regardless of those kinds of profits. So with the waves of economic crises started from mid 1980s, especially in some developed countries the cooperatives (for their self-help characters) were accepted as

¹⁴ Wikipedia; <http://wikipedia.org.en>

¹⁵ SMITH, S.; 2006, p: 57.

¹⁶ ÜN, M.; 2007, p: 4

the “*third economic motivator*” or the “*Third Sector*”¹⁷ by the governments where the State services insufficient in providing some basic needs besides private sectors.

For instance, In USA, there are some cooperatives founded for providing low cost electricity in such rural areas where state enterprises are inadequate and the private sector do not have an interest because of high costs and less population. Many educational cooperatives are in charge of the schools in Spain and in Japan, so that the members (teachers and/or parents) are represented in administration. Some social cooperatives in Italy and located in Mid European countries provides jobs to their handicapped and former prisoner or junky members in cooperation with government institutions.¹⁸

In Turkey, there is a traditional behavior in rural areas called “*imece*”. This is a special name given for a Turkish tradition, which is a village-scale collaboration on an individual’s work or need of human power. For example, if a couple is getting married villagers participate in the overall organization of the ceremony including but not limited to preparation of the celebration venue, food, building and settlement of the new house for the newlyweds, etc. This tradition often finds its way into modern world where in big cities people would help each other for free in undertaking tasks, which in western world would be unthinkable without proper pay. Imece is a volunteer activity, yet has its unwritten rules. Especially, if members of the community are co-located, reciprocity is expected. Tasks are often distributed according to expertise and have no central authority to govern activities.¹⁹

Addition to examples above, this common collaboration is performed for some social and/or public needs emerged and related with at least a part of

¹⁷ TÜRKİYE MİLLİ KOOPERATİFLER BİRLİĞİ; 2008; p: 9.

¹⁸ TÜRKİYE MİLLİ KOOPERATİFLER BİRLİĞİ; 2008; p: 9.

¹⁹ Wikipedia, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imece>

the village people. These needs may be preparing winter food of some crops for every household or helping each other for a death ceremony or working together for drainage canals for the fields, a general water pipe line construction for the whole village, etc. Some of those needs may be for a few people or for a family or so, and some can be done by the user alone, but if they are done with the help of others, they will be done fast, better and easier.

Furthermore there is another moral side of this “imece”, that everyone knows what have the others on their own. Besides, everyone understands that one must need others at least for some necessities and conveniences. These are important assets for mutual confidence and trust which be helpful in creating the feelings of belonging and solidarity in a society.

This traditional social behavior, because of this strong volunteering and helping character, may be assumed as a pre-cooperative movement. The word “cooperative” is used also in Turkish as an officially given name for these “imece” types of movements legally founded due to the related law and order.

3.2. The Rise and the Development of Cooperative Systems in Some Countries

The cooperative movement began as a response to unfairness, the social divisions and inequality of the industrializing countries of Western Europe. The pioneer movements with a cooperative type of behavior were occurred nearly in the same time at the New World and the Europe. Benjamin Franklin had organized a kind of insurance group in helping the members for fire, in 1750 at U.S.A. And a cheese manufacturers’ society named “Frutieres” had been founded in Francho-Compté (France) at Europe.²⁰

²⁰ ÜN, M.; 2007, p: 1.

- **England**

Robert Owen and Dr. William King gave birth to consumer cooperatives with their ideas and efforts in England. Owen, as an employer, had felt uncomfortable whenever saw his workers buying defected, low standard and relatively expensive basic needs. Because he believed that: “A worker would be more productive when cared better, just like a machine needs to be oiled to work orderly and permanently.”²¹ So, Owen established a kind of savings fund shop to sell goods in better standards and in numbers with better quality and relatively economic prices for the workers of his factory.

Another pioneer Dr. William King was affected from the deep misery of the workers having very low incomes. So, in the year 1828, he had started to organize the consumer cooperatives (Union shops) with weekly collected installments from the members that were workers, elsewhere.

At Rochdale Town near Manchester City in the year 1844, 28 textile workers with the encouragement of these new ideas and great efforts done by Owen and King, had started a cooperative with the name “Rochdale Pioneers” in a small store. But before that, The Rochdale Pioneers had tried many ways to improve their conditions: including trade unionism (the first general strike took place in 1842 in the North of England), and campaigning for the vote. Some followed Robert OWEN’s vision of socialism and some campaigned for the People’s Charter – a manifesto for a democratic Britain. Attempts to change the world by these methods had not succeeded. So they formed a new society, and its main activity was a store, where cheap and wholesome goods were sold.²²

This movement has won a permanent success which spread out the country borders and became a world symbol today. This was not the first

²¹ ÜN, M.; 2007, p: 4

²² SMITH,S.; 2006, p:44

cooperative enterprise, but the first one to be successful based on a set of principles, called the '*Rochdale Principles*'.

There were about 100 cooperative shops opened in different regions due to the attractive success of Rochdale in five years. So, a new legislation had being made through out for England that it became a model law later on, for different countries.²³

- **France**

The ideas on agricultural or industrial production cooperatives and their first applications were presented to world by the French pioneers Charles Fourier, Lois Blanc and Philippe Bucher with later Charles Gide. They developed various theories of partnerships in the types of production which were ancestors of modern production cooperative.

Fourier believed that with the capitalist economy the stronger capitalist groups would become dominant and destroy the weak groups of lower income without any means of production. There should be only one way to avoid this catastrophe. The great production partnerships called "phalensteres" should be established. The surplus obtained would be reserved as 5/12 % for the labor, 4/12% for the capital and last 3/12 % for the ability.²⁴

Abbe de Lemmarais had made some efforts for the success of the agricultural cooperative movements. He was inspired from the behaviors of traditional "fruitiere" (Gruyère cheese producers) groups located at the villages of French Alpines and Jura mountains.²⁵ Before the 1st World War, with the development in agricultural techniques and distribution the goods

²³ ÜN, M.; 2007, p: 4

²⁴ ÜN, M.; 2007, p: 5.

²⁵ ÜN, M.; 2007, p: 3.

had expanded the markets. This gave birth to the first modern agricultural cooperatives in dairy and wine production.

- **Germany**

The true starting of the Trade and Agricultural Credits Cooperative Movement was accomplished by two important German pioneers, Friederich Wilhelm Raiffeisen and Herman Schulze-Delitzsch. They separately organized a rural cooperative system for crediting, buying and marketing,

Herman Schulze-Delitzsch had founded a cooperative for the small scale shoe traders which were affected from the mass production of shoe making industry. The cooperative was providing raw materials to the small scale shoe producers. A year after that, other cooperatives was founded one for crediting the member tradesmen and a consumer cooperative to sell the productions. He was also succeeded in establishing a Bank for Trade and Credit with collaborations in businessmen. Schulze-Delitzsch had succeeded to collect all the Small Trader Cooperatives under the Union of German Small Trade and Economy Cooperatives in the year 1859.

Raiffeisen made his first attack by establishing a “Livelihood Committee” to help the farmer families who had very poor harvest with the collaboration of some wealthy farmers, in 1847. The farmers could provide enough potatoes and grains to subsist on the winter. So, this self help agricultural credit movement turned into a permanent cooperative system. In the year 1864, Raiffeisen had turned all these rural cooperatives into one level organization namely “Loan Coffers Union”. But with the arising need of more capital, these unions became “Bank of Cooperatives” in 1872 and a “Central Bank of Cooperatives” had to be established, in 1877.²⁶

²⁶ ÜN, M.; 2007, p: 6.

- **United States of America**

Grange, one of the known farmer organizations in the U.S.A. was established in 1867. The organization was merely concerned in transporting, storing and marketing of the crops. The other organization was the “*Farmers’ Union*” that was established in 1872. The first farming cooperatives were mostly engaged in marketing of their dairy productions, fruits and cotton with stockbreeding. Some of the cooperatives could not last long because of the severe resistance of the private sectors besides the lack of the will in practicing the basic principles of being a cooperative.

The permanent rise of the cooperatives in U.S.A. was happened during the years 1895-1920.²⁷ During this era many store houses, silos, dairies, etc. were built as a result of cooperative enterprises. The time between the years 1920-1930 many new cooperatives had been founded for the agricultural crops due to the low prices occurred right after the World War I.

3.3. The Principles of Cooperatives

The cooperative principles are guidelines by which cooperatives put their values into practice. The ‘Rochdale Principles’ are a set of ideals for the operation of cooperative. Though they are modernized and adapted over the years, still define the purpose of cooperatives. These are the values and principles, as defined by the International Cooperative Alliance and codified in the “*Statement of Cooperative Identity*” adopted by the ICA’s Centenary Congress held in Manchester in 1995, and accepted today by cooperatives all over the world.²⁸

²⁷ ÜN, M.; 2007, p:7.

²⁸ SMITH,S.; 2006, p:47.

The Rochdale Principles

1. Open membership.
2. Democratic control (one person, one vote).
3. Distribution of surplus in proportion (risturn)
4. Payment of limited interest on capital
5. Political and religious neutrality.
6. Cash trading (no credit extended).

ICA“*Statement of Cooperative Identity*“Revised (1995)²⁹

ICA (International Cooperative Alliance) revised the principals in 1995, keeping the four of Rochdale Principals unchanged, as the absolute rules.

1. Voluntary and Open Membership

Co-operatives are voluntary organizations, open to all persons able to use their services and willing to accept the responsibilities of membership, without gender, social, racial, political or religious discrimination.

ICA: The International Co-operative Alliance

The International Co-operative Alliance (established in 1815) is an independent, non-governmental organization that unites, represents and serves co-operatives worldwide. It exists to provide an effective and efficient global voice and forum for knowledge, expertise and coordinated action for and about co-operatives.

²⁹ ICA: <http://www.ica.coop>

2. Democratic Member Control

Co-operatives are democratic organizations controlled by their members, who actively participate in setting their policies and making decisions. Men and women serving as elected representatives are accountable to the membership. In primary co-operatives members have equal voting rights (one member, one vote) and co-operatives at other levels are also organized in a democratic manner.

3. Member Economic Participation

Members contribute equitably to, and democratically control, the capital of their co-operative. At least part of that capital is usually the common property of the co-operative. Members usually receive limited compensation, if any, on capital subscribed as a condition of membership. Members allocate surpluses for any or all of the following purposes: developing their co-operative, possibly by setting up reserves, part of which at least would be indivisible; benefiting members in proportion to their transactions with the co-operative; and supporting other activities approved by the membership.

4. Autonomy and Independence

Co-operatives are autonomous, self-help organizations controlled by their members. If they enter into agreements with other organizations, including governments, or raise capital from external sources, they do so on terms that ensure democratic control by their members and maintain their co-operative autonomy.

5. Education, Training and Information

Co-operatives provide education and training for their members, elected representatives, managers, and employees so they can contribute effectively to the development of their co-operatives. They inform the

general public - particularly young people and opinion leaders - about the nature and benefits of co-operation.

6. Co-operation among Co-operatives

Co-operatives serve their members most effectively and strengthen the co-operative movement by working together through local, national, regional and international structures.

7. Concern for Community

Co-operatives work for the sustainable development of their communities through policies approved by their members.

3.4. The Types of the Cooperatives

According to the strategic document for 2014 prepared by Union of Turkish National Cooperatives there are various types of the cooperatives in Turkey, for either different purposes of economic development or for social needs of the society.³⁰

They can be divided in three large groups according to their functions.

3.4.1. - Cooperatives for Rural Development

- Unions and Cooperatives for Agricultural Sales (Tarım Satış Kooperatifleri ve Birlikleri): There are 17 Unions and 322 Cooperatives for Agricultural Sales of certain products. There are 602,248 farmers throughout Turkey counted as members. The goods are economical raw materials for the industrial production as cotton, olive, sunflower, dried fig, and nuts or cultural valued goods as mohair and silk.
- Cooperatives for Agricultural Development (Tarımsal Kalkınma Kooperatifleri): They are especially used for solving problems of the peasants in stockbreeding and cattle dealing, to increase their income.

³⁰ TÜRKİYE MİLLİ KOOPERATİFLER BİRLİĞİ; p: 11-17.

- Cooperatives for Irrigation (Sulama Kooperatifleri): These are the economic organizations founded by farmers who wanted to use the water resources and reservoirs whether in underground or on the surface besides the state provided irrigation canals.
- Cooperatives for Fisheries (Su Ürünleri Kooperatifleri): These are for the collaboration among hunters and cultivators of fisheries at seas or lakes.
- Cooperatives for Beetroot Cultivators (Pancar Ekicileri Kooperatifleri): These cooperatives are unique importance for Turkey because of their economic potential of producing sugar. These cooperatives and their union (PANKOBİRLİK) produce 42% of total sugar production in their factories.
- Cooperatives for Agriculture and Credits (Tarım-Kredi Kooperatifleri): Those cooperatives are on service since the foundation of Republic and serve as a government institution in crediting and bailing the member farmers.

3.4.2. - Cooperatives for Urban Development

- Cooperatives for Small Traders and Artisans Credit and Bail (Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Kredi ve Kefalet Kooperatifleri): The main target for these organizations is to distribute the governmental credits in a given order and supporting the urbanized production activities in every region of the country.
- Cooperatives for Consumers (Tüketim Kooperatifleri): These are generally founded by municipalities and/or institutional job sites to provide consuming goods with low prices but in good standards for their middle and low income workers. The syndicates supported such cooperatives for their members also and played main role in the self-service whole market system during 1970s up to mid 1980s. Today it seems that this role in marketing is in the secondary because of private sectors' cheap chain- markets dispersed in even rural areas.

- Cooperatives for Motorized Transporters (Motorlu Taşıyıcılar Kooperatifleri):

These cooperatives are organized especially for the drivers of the vehicles for either external, i.e. between cities and countries, or internal i.e. within the city limits, transportation of the goods and public. Today, a private public transport provider should be a member of a cooperative in order to work on a city line.

- Cooperatives for Housing (Konut Yapı Kooperatifleri):

The members of these cooperatives are mainly from middle and/or low income groups. The governments give supports either directly by providing credits and mortgages or indirectly by lowering taxes on construction materials and new building for the members of these cooperatives. So it is obvious that the possibility in providing housing with these low incomes may come only by collaborating with others orderly. The housing cooperatives are 68% in the total of all types.

- Cooperatives for Small Industrial Site Construction (Küçük Sanayi Siteleri Yapı Kooperatifleri) and Store and Office Site Construction (Toplu İşyeri Yapı Kooperatifleri):

These cooperatives are formed to collect those artisans and traders who are dealing with small size productions and repairs of any kind in certain areas for such conveniences.

Some of them are;

a) For consumers:

- An address to be found easily by consumers,
- A convenient job sites with reasonable construction costs
- Easy credits for construction and/or for running the enterprise if needed.
- A democratic administration with member in charge,

b) For central and local authorities:

- An indirect price and tax control over goods and services provided
- A direct control over urban land development

3.4.3- Cooperatives for Other Services

Among other small scale cooperatives founded on various topics two of them are founded earlier, Union Insurance Cooperative in 1958 where the Cooperative of Limited Liability Social Aid and Insurance in 1960.³¹ Others are small in scale but effective in collaborating people for an aim and provide solidarity in Tourism Development, Providing and Dealing, Producing and Marketing, Managing, Publishing, Educational , Women Entrepreneurs, etc.

TABLE 3.4.3.-1: Construction Cooperatives and the Members Counted ³²

TYPES OF COOPERATIVES	Cooperative		Union		Central Union	
	No. of Units	No. of Members	No. of Units	No. of Partner Coops.	No. of Units	No. of Partner Unions
Housing Cooperatives	59.129	2.150.860	363	11.700	3	64
Small Industrial Site Construction Coop.	1.110	140.213	5	172	-	-
Tourism Development and Construction Coop.	397	17.893	3	32	-	-
Store and Office Site Construction Coop.	1.928	117.099	6	116	-	-

³¹ ÜN, M.; 2007, p: 11

³² TÜRKİYE MİLLİ KOOPERATİFLER BİRLİĞİ; p: 12.

CHAPTER 4

HOUSING COOPERATIVES

A housing cooperative is a legal entity that owns a real estate, consisting of one or more residential buildings. Each shareholder in this legal entity is granted the right to occupy and be the owner of one housing unit after paying all the dues to the coop. A housing cooperative is normally *de facto* non-profit, since usually most of its income comes from the shareholders, who are invariably its members. There is no point in creating a deliberate surplus—except for operational requirements such as setting aside funds for replacement of assets—since that simply means that the fees paid by members are set higher than the expenses. This is the reason why Housing Cooperatives are assumed as non-governmental organizations not a construction firm. They are established to produce housing for their members. Hence, mostly they start to have a real estate to get built one or more residential buildings. Cooperative members acquire dwellings in freehold ownership status after construction is finished, and then the cooperative that has fulfilled its task is dissolved.

4.1. Emerging of Housing Cooperatives in the World

By the early twentieth century, cooperatives were created as a result of reactions against the unfairness and inequality of market economies in such European countries. This new socio-economic system which worked only for public benefits was indeed a rival against the entrepreneurs run after maximum profits in England, Germany and France. The first formal housing cooperative on record was organized in the mid nineteenth century in

Germany. Victor HUBAR was the pioneer and the builder of this housing cooperative.³³

By the early twentieth century, housing cooperatives were found throughout Europe, but predominantly in Germany and in the Scandinavian countries.³⁴

Though the first housing cooperative in the United States, called a "home club", was established in New York City in 1876, cooperatives did not become well established in the United States until after World War I.³⁵

Through the 1960s and the early 1970s cooperatives were financed by various federal direct assistance programs. Since the late 1970s cooperatives have been sponsored by nonprofit organizations and by federal and municipal government privatization programs.

The development of Housing Cooperatives in Europe has been developed in the second half of Nineteenth Century as a result of Industrial Revolution. The housing cooperatives founded and constructed in Italy in 1870, in Belgium at 1887 and in Denmark at 1901 following the pioneers succeeded in England and Germany. In Sweden, the housing cooperatives showed a high performance between the years of World War I and World War II. The cooperative movement in Sweden that was left alone by the governments gave rise after 1924.³⁶

4.2. Some structural features of Housing Cooperatives

Construction cooperatives in general have an importance for all the groups in a society, because of their own specific features. The buildings may be used as a tool of a production of any kind (e.g. shoe makers, car repair

³³ ÜN, M.; 2007, p: 3

³⁴ SAZAMA, G.; 1996; p:1

³⁵ SAZAMA, G.; 1996; p:1

³⁶ YAROĞLU, Y. S.; (2006); p:92

shops, etc) and trade (e.g. job sites for small traders) or service sectors (e.g. touristic establishments, and social centers, etc.)

Same as above, housing cooperatives have an importance for all the groups in society, too. Simply because everyone first needs a house to dwell and protect himself or his family, then needs a job to earn his life. So housing cooperatives has a certain and unique place among the other construction cooperatives. That is the reason why, the number of them is far ahead in the total of construction cooperatives. (See TABLE 4.4.3.-1)

Housing Cooperatives are categorized in four groups in terms of tasks which they undertake:³⁷

1. Cooperatives for Saving and Crediting: They collect small savings of their members in order to distribute later on as for crediting housing constructions.

2. Cooperatives for Construction: These are the ones who undertake the construction of houses either as the cooperative itself or let it made by a contractor.

3. Cooperatives for Maintenance and Service: These are interested with only the physical maintenances such as water works, electric network, gardening, etc. and services such as housekeeping, doorman ship, security, etc. of the houses already built.

4. Cooperatives for Multi Purposes: These are concerned more than one tasks mentioned above.

Furthermore, housing cooperatives are categorized into three groups in concerning the ownership of the housing units constructed.³⁸

³⁷ KELEŞ,R.;1976, p:109

1. Cooperatives which transfer ownership (title deeds) of housing units to members after the construction of the site. The life of those cooperatives will end after handing over the last title deed to the owner as written in their documents of foundation.

2. Cooperatives which keep ownership of the housing units under their own legal entity and treat members as privileged tenants.. These lower income members of such cooperative have very few amounts of savings not to support the whole construction in order to get the title deed but have some adequate income to meet common expenses of the site while residing. They never be forced to leave the housing unit and can transfer their rights to their inheritors. But there are strict restrictions on transfers of rights in order to prevent speculation.

3. Cooperatives whose members are only the tenants having rights to participate in management. The cooperative is also have a capability to construct their housing units as well as managing the services and maintenances facilities during life time.

With respect of the results of housing cooperative practices from different countries, the most successful type of above is the third one.

Housing Cooperatives are capable in performing the matters below with the permission of general assembly:³⁹

- Buys land parcels with permission for construction plans, or get it made new implementation plans besides architectural and engineering projects
- Handed over the title deeds after completing the construction.
- Establishes social and cultural spaces Collaborates with other private or public institutions to obtain above advantages

³⁸ KELEŞ,R.;1976, p:110

³⁹ TURKKENT KOOP; <http://www.turkkent.coop>

- May provide credits and bails
- Join in the upper organizations (unions, alliances, etc.) for the benefits
- Creates a kind of self-help funds for his members and/or employers.
- Organizes educational activities for the topics concerned.

4.3. Development of Housing Cooperatives in Turkey

During the last decades of Ottoman Empire, Turkish cooperative movement which has been started and led by Mithat Pasha was primarily not housing but an agricultural type.

The first implementation of the housing cooperative movement in Turkey has been emerged towards the end of the 19th century. In 1887, some members of the English minority who lived in Akaretler quarter in İstanbul, has been established a housing cooperative to meet their economical housing requirement. However, only British subjects were accepted as the member of this cooperative.⁴⁰

• The Period of 1924-1950

During the period of the Republic, the first Turkish Cooperative Society was established on May 20, 1931 in İstanbul. Later, this establishment has been changed its name as Turkish Cooperative Association and moved to Ankara. After that the association has become an important organization of the country.

Ankara, the Republic's new capital, was insufficient to resolve the rapidly increasing need for housing. So, the state decided to take the advantage of using the cooperative system mostly besides state flats for the officials. In

⁴⁰ GÜR, Ş. Ö.; <http://www.evkultur.com>

this period "Bahçelievler Building Cooperative Society" was founded by senior state officials in 1934 as the first housing cooperative, and the following housing cooperatives were affected widely from this first housing cooperative working policy.⁴¹

The Emlak ve Eytam Bank, (Real Estate and Orphans Bank) founded in 1926 as a state bank, have met nearly 90% of construction financing of this cooperative. The name of this bank has turned into Emlak-Kredi Bank (Real Estate and Credit Bank) later and closed in 1988.

The second housing cooperative was Güven Housing Cooperative that was founded by a group in 1936 left from Bahçelievler Housing Cooperative founded in 1934.⁴² By 1945, the number of housing cooperatives increased up to 80.⁴³

- **The period of 1950-1960**

After 1950's, with fast urbanization and industrialization in Turkey, it was understood that provision of convenient housing has become as a new complicated and unsolved problem with various dimensions for the individuals as well as the state.

The Social Insurance Institution (SSK) has started to give mortgage loans due to the directions derived from the Disability Insurance Act of 1950. During this period, housing cooperative societies were supported with vast credits and mortgage loans issued by particularly Emlak-Kredi Bank and SSK. Due to this law, the credit issued should not exceed 50% of the total value of the house constructed. But later, politicians made some

⁴¹ BİLGİN,N.ve TANIYICI,Ş.;2008, p:146.

⁴² KUBİN, G.;1991, p: 9.

⁴³ Konut Kooperatifleri: <http://www.nuveforum.net>

nontechnical changes in supporting policy, so the credits given has been increased up to the rate of 80% in 1952, then up to 90% in 1964.⁴⁴

In the same year 1950, by the law approved with no: 5656, the municipalities were obliged in building houses on their own parcels and may sell or rent them to the concerned. In addition, another obligation brought in case they have no adequate technical possibilities in this housing provision.⁴⁵

That was allocating appropriate parcel of land for the housing cooperatives that promised to construct at least 25 housing unit for the shareholders. So, with these instruments the local governments also participate as an actor in providing proper housing for the organized people who needed.

In 1956, by the law approved as Expropriation Act No. 6830, municipalities having more than 5000 inhabitant been equipped with the authority to make their own improvement and zoning plans and also practicing legal expropriations easily in order to provide more urban land parcels for new housing constructions.⁴⁶

Thus, housing cooperative movement had been supported by central and/or local governments either directly in construction or indirectly by supplying land and/or credits to be given. These actions and efforts were the causes of the significant increase in the number of housing cooperatives which were the replies to the demands of healthy housing opportunities in economic terms. However, the majority of the members of them were still high rank state or local government officials. They were the only ones who could pay required high fees with their relatively higher salaries.

⁴⁴ ŞENTÜRK, O.; 2008, <http://www.emlakkulisi.com>

⁴⁵ LEBA, R.; 2010, <http://www.kamuyonetimi.biz/makaleler>

⁴⁶ GÜR, Ş.Ö.; <http://www.evkultur.com>

- **The Period of 1960 - 1970**

Towards the end of the 1950's, due to the rapidly increasing population in the cities, housing presentation formats and other institutional structures were had to be set again. This time a permanent solution to the housing problem was searched on the administrative structure. In the end, the Ministry of Improvement and Settlement (İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı) was established in 1958. In 1960's, especially after May 27th Revolution, the executive military and civil officers gave much importance to the housing cooperative societies.

After the year 1965, the production of housing was done as multi-storey designed projects upon legal permits by private sector contractors with "Yap-Sat" (Built & Sale) method. These high density and nearly unpredictable widespread housing presentation forms together have created important transport problems besides social and technical infrastructure matters.

The low income immigrant groups had to built dwellings with one or two storey "gecekondu" (squatter) housing type with their own means without any permit and project. Because they create large urban land without any control, governments were forced to approve the "Squatter Act No: 775" (775 Sayılı Gecekondu Kanunu), in 1966. And with that law, state had made a self obligation in providing housing areas for the low income groups as for their self-help constructions,

In 1969, the fact of the cooperatives in general was classified by the law approved as Cooperatives Act No: 1163. The 1st Item of the Act specifies the cooperative as; "... an established partnership intends to procure and the partners' economic interests and especially the needs of the labor force

and monetary contributions to their profession or living by solidarity and mutual assistance, to protect by bail".⁴⁷

Thus, cooperative societies, being attractive with a variety of tax facilities, has become organized in non-agricultural productions and other social solidarity issues with transport as well as agricultural and housing construction cooperatives.

- **The Period of 1970 - 1980**

In 1970's more supervised mass housing type settlement formats has gradually began to emerge. Furthermore OYAK (Turkish Armed Forces Assistance Fund) with BAĞ-KUR (a state institution established for the Independent Employees Social Security) joined the funding agencies

During this period, Ataköy was one of the well-known mass housing settlement in Istanbul. Today the structural stages are still continued to be constructed as Ataköy District 9, 10, 11 and so on. The main supporter was the Emlak-Kredi Bank. However, the other mass construction attempts could not have a success in institutionalized level, except this special case Ataköy, but the housing cooperatives still have the status of being the most important residential builder.

Starting at 1970s a political pressure has emerged with the voting potential of the immigrants over the local authorities, besides there were social movements in the peripheries of urban areas. So, the municipalities tried to collaborate with low income groups to solve their housing problems by cooperatives. Some municipalities provided proper parcels of land and also gave hand in construction means. By the help of Housing Cooperative Associations encouraged with the Cooperatives Law in use finally, the housing cooperatives had made a good start after the second half of 1970.

⁴⁷ Kooperatifler Kanunu (Cooperatives Law)

In 1979, the government has decided to raise a new fund (MEYAK: Memur Yardımlaşma ve Konut Fonu) for state officials by cut offs from their salaries. The idea was crediting the housing cooperatives of state officials by this fund.⁴⁸

- **The period of 1980-1990**

There was another military revolution in September 12th, 1980. The executive military and civil officers gave much importance to solve the housing problems, again. This intention was set in the 57th Item of the Constitution dated 1982: “State provides all the precautions for a healthy housing within a planning context caring the features and the environment of the cities and also supports enterprises for Mass Housing”. So with this amendment in the housing policy, Mass Housing Law No: 2387 approved in the year 1981 was abolished and a new one was set with No: 2985, in the year 1984 to encourage the private house building cooperatives.⁴⁹ The number of cooperatives founded before 1984 was 21% of the total where the cooperatives founded only between the years 1984-1991 79% of the total. Thus, many of them have become member under different unions to make use of many conveniences.⁵⁰

- **The period of 1990 – 2000**

In 1990, the 50% of sources of the funds created were transferred into the General Budget because of the economical difficulties and high inflation. So, they were dispensed to other needs instead of housing cooperatives. The General Directorate for Housing divided into two government institutions as Public Partnership Administration (Kamu Ortaklığı İdaresi) and as Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ: Toplu Konut İdaresi).

⁴⁸ TÜRKİYE MİLLİ KOOPERATİFLER BİRLİĞİ (2008); p: 94

⁴⁹ Türkiye’de Yapı-İnşaat Sektörünün Tarihi:(2009) <http://www.demir-çelik.web.tr>

⁵⁰ YAROĞLU, Y.S.:(2006),p: 105

So, it took some time to reorganize again. Furthermore, the government had decided to transfer all the funds into the General Budget, in 1993. With this possession, the numbers were decreased in housing constructions made by the credits.

On the contrary, the private banks had started to give personal housing credits. But these types of credits were not appropriate for the middle and low income groups because of high interests and personal bails. So, the profile of the cooperative members has been changed into from low income groups to upper middle income groups.

- **The period of 2000 - 2010**

In 2002 after the economic crises the level of constructions were lowered again. According to the construction permits given there were 162.000 houses constructed, but only 14.7% were belonging to the housing cooperatives. On the other hand, after 2003 TOKİ had increased its share in housing constructions with the help of government.

The share of TOKİ was %0.6 between the years 1984-2002; it was 6.4% in 2003 and 24.7% in 2004. On the contrary, the share of the cooperatives in the constructions were dropped to 10% in 2004, 6.8 % in 2005 but showed a slight increase in 2006 with 8.1% while dropped again to 6% in 2006.⁵¹

There are 59,129 Housing Cooperatives, 363 Housing Cooperative Associations and 3 Unions of Housing Associations in Turkey.

⁵¹ TÜRKİYE MİLLİ KOOPERATİFLER BİRLİĞİ (2008); p: 96

TABLE 4.3.-1: The Number of Housing Cooperatives (1950–2001)⁵²

YEARS	NO OF COOPERATIVES	INCREASE OR DECREASE	(%)	LEGAL INCITEMENTS
1950 - 1955	93	---	---	Social Security (S.S.K) credits had started
1955 -1960	245	152	163,44	----
1960 - 1965	126	-(119)	-(48,57)	----
1965 - 1970	523	397	315,08	Cooperatives Law was issued. Gecekondu Law was issued. Real Estate Office Law was issued.
1970 - 1975	1794	1271	243,02	Real Estate Tax Law issued.
1975 - 1980	1631	-(163)	-(9,08)	Tax Exemptions for Firms in buying Real Estates
1980 - 1985	3216	1585	97,17	Nationalization Law was issued. A New Tendering Law was issued Mass Housing Law was issued.
1985 - 1990	20426	17210	535,13	----
1990 - 2001	61649	41223	201,81	Exemptions in VAT due to the Housing area standards
2001- 2006	62246	597	0,97	---

⁵² YAROĞLU, Y.S.:(2006), p: 94

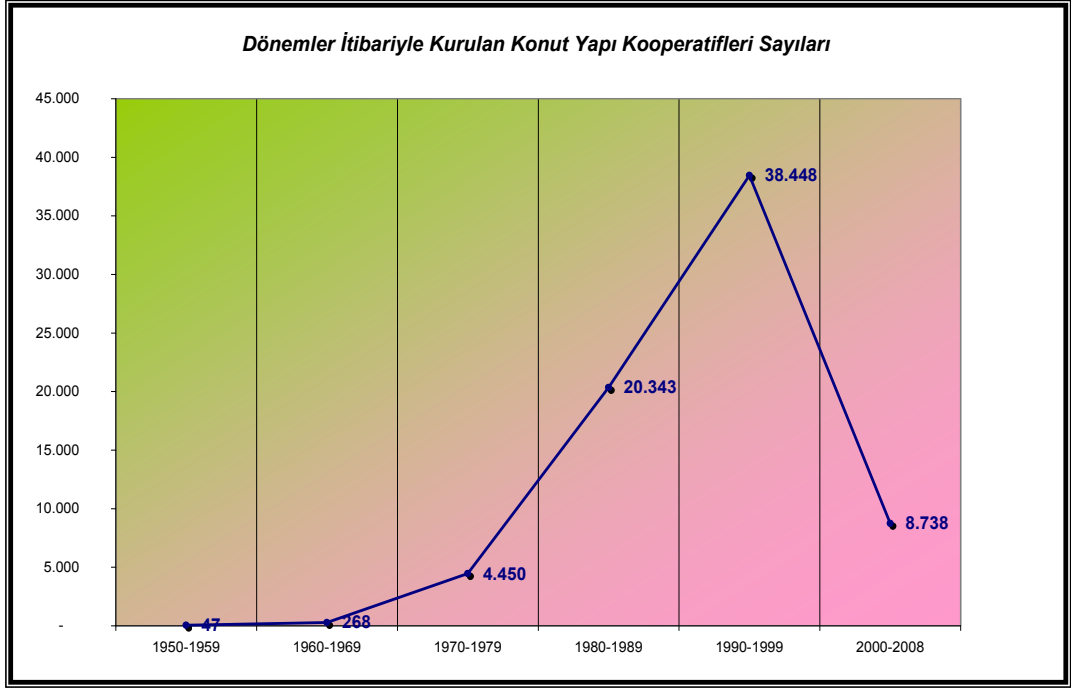


FIGURE 4.3.-1: The Number of Housing Cooperatives Founded by Periods ⁵³

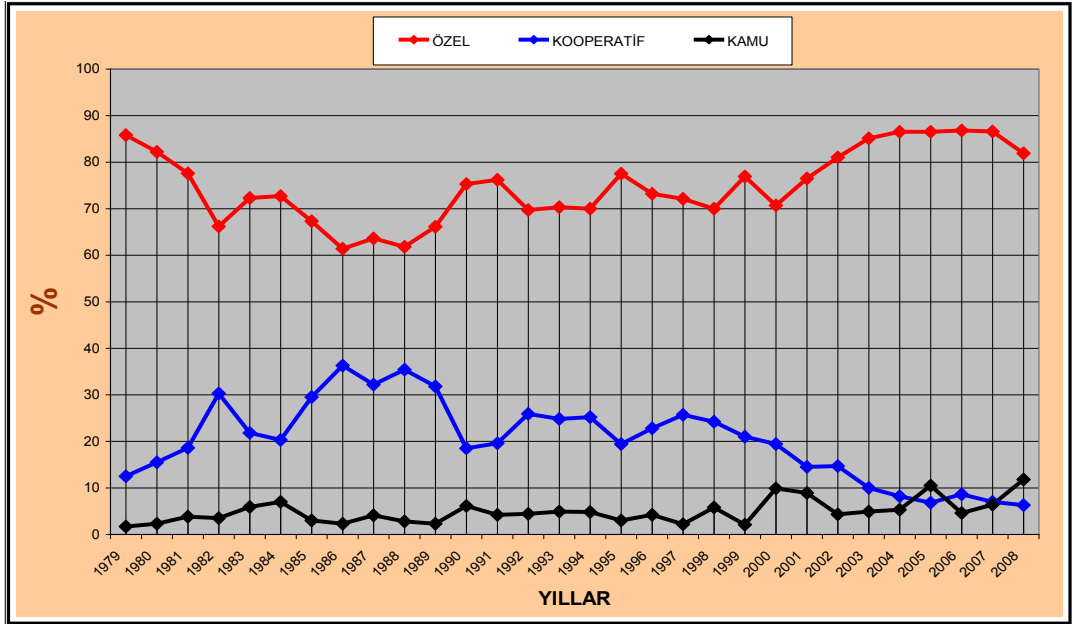


FIGURE 4.3.-2: Housing Constructions Ratios Due to the Permits 1979-2008⁵⁴

⁵³ TÜRKİYE MİLLİ KOOPERATİFLER BİRLİĞİ (2008); p: 95

⁵⁴ TÜRKİYE MİLLİ KOOPERATİFLER BİRLİĞİ (2008); p: 96

4.4. Legal Structure of Housing Cooperatives in Turkey

All kinds of construction activities have to be related with Construction Law No.3194 (3194 sayılı İmar Kanunu),in Turkey. So, before going further, a glimpse at this Law about some definitions and concepts will be useful to fallow with in this study.

Construction: As defined in Article 5 of Construction Law No.3194, it covers construction on land and in water, permanent and temporary, public and private, above ground and underground, including additions, alterations and repairs as well as immovable and movable establishments.

Building: A building is any independent structure comprising one or more rooms or other spaces, covered by a roof, enclosed with external walls or dividing walls which extend from the foundations to the roof, and intended for residential, agricultural, industrial, commercial, or cultural purposes.

Construction Permit: Construction Permit is a certificate which must be given by municipalities within the boundaries of municipalities, before beginning to a construction according to Article 21 of Construction Law No.3194.

Occupancy Permit: Occupancy Permit is a certificate which must be given by municipalities for the buildings to live in which has been constructed due to Construction Permits given before in boundaries of municipalities, according to Article 30 of Construction Law No.3194.

Unfortunately there is no unique definition in the body of current law made only for Housing Cooperatives. So, a definition made by a social scientist as follows: *“The Housing Cooperative is an organization which aims to meet*

*the housing needs of the members in collaboration with creating mutual help and solidarity via freeing them from the effects of competition and profit”.*⁵⁵

All kinds of cooperatives are founded and managed in accordance to the Cooperatives Law, dated 1969, and amended in 1988. According to the related articles of the Law and the regulations, a cooperative can be founded by at least 7 persons, and it acquires legal status with the approval of its charter by the Ministry of Science, Industry and Technology where all cooperatives are registered. The Ministry has the authority to inspect the accounts and activities of cooperatives, also. The General Assembly which consist of all the cooperative members has to meet at least once a year to review and approve activities and accounts of the executive committee, to elect executive steering committee members for the next year, and to take decisions concerning the work program of the cooperative and monthly payment obligation of each shareholder. An officer of the Ministry from the local office should be present in the meeting.⁵⁶

An increase with the number in cooperatives of different kind, a need aroused to collect them under upper level organizations to categorize, support and control. There are two upper level organisations of cooperatives in Turkey.

The first one is an *association*. According to Cooperatives Law requires at least seven cooperatives have to become together to establish an *association* in order to gain some advantages as such exemptions of income and value added taxes (VAT). But now it is subject to pay 1 per cent VAT, instead of 18 per cent that is applied to other construction activities.⁵⁷This makes nearly 30 per cent less payment of the total during construction period which means an important indirect governmental

⁵⁵ KELEŞ, R. ; (1982), p:25.

⁵⁶ TÜREL, A.; (2002), p: 8

⁵⁷ TÜREL, A.; (2002), p: 10

support, besides credits given. Municipalities and local authorities may also become members of cooperative associations, and mayors or other representatives of municipalities may serve as chairperson or executive committee members of these associations. Establishing such organic relationships with municipalities brings many advantages to associations and to their member cooperatives, particularly in the acquisition of publicly owned land, in land development activities, which include preparation and approval of land use plans and infrastructure provision, and in carrying out construction works with considerable assistance provided by the technical staff of municipalities.

The second upper level organisation is the *central association*, which can be founded by associations. At the top of this organisational pyramid is the Turkish National Cooperatives Association, with central associations and associations as its members. There are two central associations in Turkey, which are TÜRK-KONUT and TÜRKKENT.⁵⁸

During the 1st Congress of Cooperatives which was organized for the second anniversary of TÜRKKENT on March 17-18, 1990 at Ankara. The suggestion of a need for a national union to amalgamate different Turkish cooperative associations has risen. At the end, Union of Turkish National Cooperatives (Türkiye Milli Kooperatifler Birliği: TÜRKİYE-KOOP) which is the top organization of Turkish cooperative associations was founded at December, 30th, 1991. That was happened just 22 years after the validity of Cooperative Law.⁵⁹ Mass Housing Laws approved in the year 1981 and especially in the year 1984 encouraged the private house building cooperatives and more of them are getting together under different unions.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ TÜREL, A.; 2002, p: 9.

⁵⁹ GERAY, C.; 2005, p:18.

⁶⁰ Türkiye'de Yapı-İnşaat Sektörünün Tarihi; 2009, <http://www.demir-çelik.web.tr>

CHAPTER 5

SOME RELATED DATA FOR ADANA CITY

5.1. Short History of Adana and Çukurova Region

Due to the archaeological discoveries; Adana was settled at the same place since Stone Age. However, the first concrete evidence relating to the settlement was a script of the New Hittite Kingdom stating about a settlement located here in the VIII century B.C. The region was ruled by Assyrians in 715 BC, and then by the Persian Empire until 330 B.C. the time the region conquered by Alexander the Great.⁶¹

In the 1st century B.C. Adana was the Roman's one of the known settlements, as the capital city of the Cilicia province. It was especially the favorite city of the Roman emperor Hadrianus. During the Byzantine Empire the city has developed and become a commercial site of its district. Because of that, the Byzantine Emperor Justiniaus has ordered to build a stone bridge over the Seyhan River. This bridge has 21 arches with a length of 300m and width of 10m and still in use today.⁶²

Adana was occupied by the Arabs in the 7th century AC. During the Middle Ages the sovereignty in the region has been exchanged in many times among Muslims and Byzantine. The city was conquered by Sultan Selim I on 1516, from the latest local landlord family, Ramazanoğlu. The members of the family were appointed as the governor for the region for a long while.

The existing spatial organization was set as neighborhoods (mahalle) consist of a small mosque surrounded by housing areas with twisted roads.

⁶¹ AKTÜRE,S.:(2003), p:265

⁶² RAMAZANOĞLU, G.: (2006), p:107

The west of the river had begun to develop with a kind of an organic pattern. There are three phases in the spatial development of Adana. The first phase of the spatial development had started Ulucami Mosque and the Külliye around it to the south of Tepebağ Höyük (tel) the 16th century and lasted to the 19th century. This organic pattern of the settlement developed up to the east near to the west side of Seyhan River, north, south and west directions were surrounded by the fields and orchards.

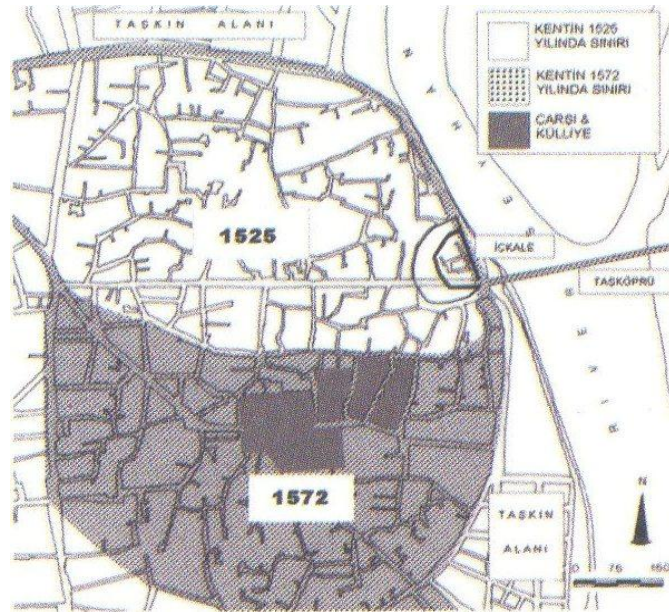


FIGURE 5.1.-1: The Spatial Development of Adana in 16th century.⁶³

Külliye, deriving from the Arabic word "*kull*" (meaning *the whole, all*) is a term which designates a complex of buildings, centered around a mosque and managed within a single institution, often based on a *vakıf* (foundation), and composed of a *medrese*, a *darüşşifa*, kitchens, bakery, hammam, other buildings for various benevolent services for the community and further annexed constructions. The tradition of *külliye* is particularly marked in Turkish architecture within Seljuk, particularly Ottoman Empire and also Timurid architectural legacies.⁶⁴

Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha, the Ottoman Governor of Egypt, who rebelled against the Sultan with the support of the British and French governments,

⁶³ ADANA MİMARLIK REHBERİ, p: 1.(D.Saban,1999)

⁶⁴ Wikipedia, <http://www.wikipedia.org.en>

has ruled the region between the years 1833 – 1840, and the agriculture of cotton has started to develop rapidly the economic aspects of the area.

The region was taken back from Kavalalı Pasha in 1840, but the city and the environment were in disorder. It took about 30 years and began to rise again after the Ottoman government's decision of founding the Çukurova region as a province which Adana was the center. The cotton was easily transferred to the seaport with the construction of Adana-Mersin railroad in 1886.⁶⁵ After World War I, Adana and its environment were occupied by French troops between the years 1918-1922.⁶⁶ After the Independence War, Adana was again set as the center of the Province.

5.2. Some Geographic and Demographic Data for Adana

5.2.1. Location in the Region;

Adana is located nearly at the center of the Çukurova which is one of Turkey's high-yield agricultural potential areas. The Seyhan River comes from the Taurus Mountains while flowing from north to south, splits the city into two sides then descends to the plains towards the Mediterranean Sea.

Adana is located historically at the junction of the mountain roads with the ones in the plains. Nowadays the city still controls airline, rail and road transportations in addition to the sea traffic via Mersin and İskenderun ports. Adana is showing up some certain metropolitan functions by offering social and economic activities with the qualified services besides her industrialized production level mainly in agricultural and partly non-agricultural products. With her unique location from the time being the city has the control over all the required links between the administrative, commercial, financial, and economic aspects of the region.

⁶⁵ Adana Güçbirliği Vakfı: (2000), p:81–82

⁶⁶ ENER, K.: (1964), p:193–194

Adana, as a central city of the fertile plains, cultivates stores, processes and deals all the agricultural products which grow in Çukurova to the country. The city is assumed either agricultural or industrial jobsite center for the workforce coming from especially South-East Anatolia Region besides some business. Therefore, Adana is on the edge of becoming a “metropolitan” city center for the whole East Mediterranean Region.

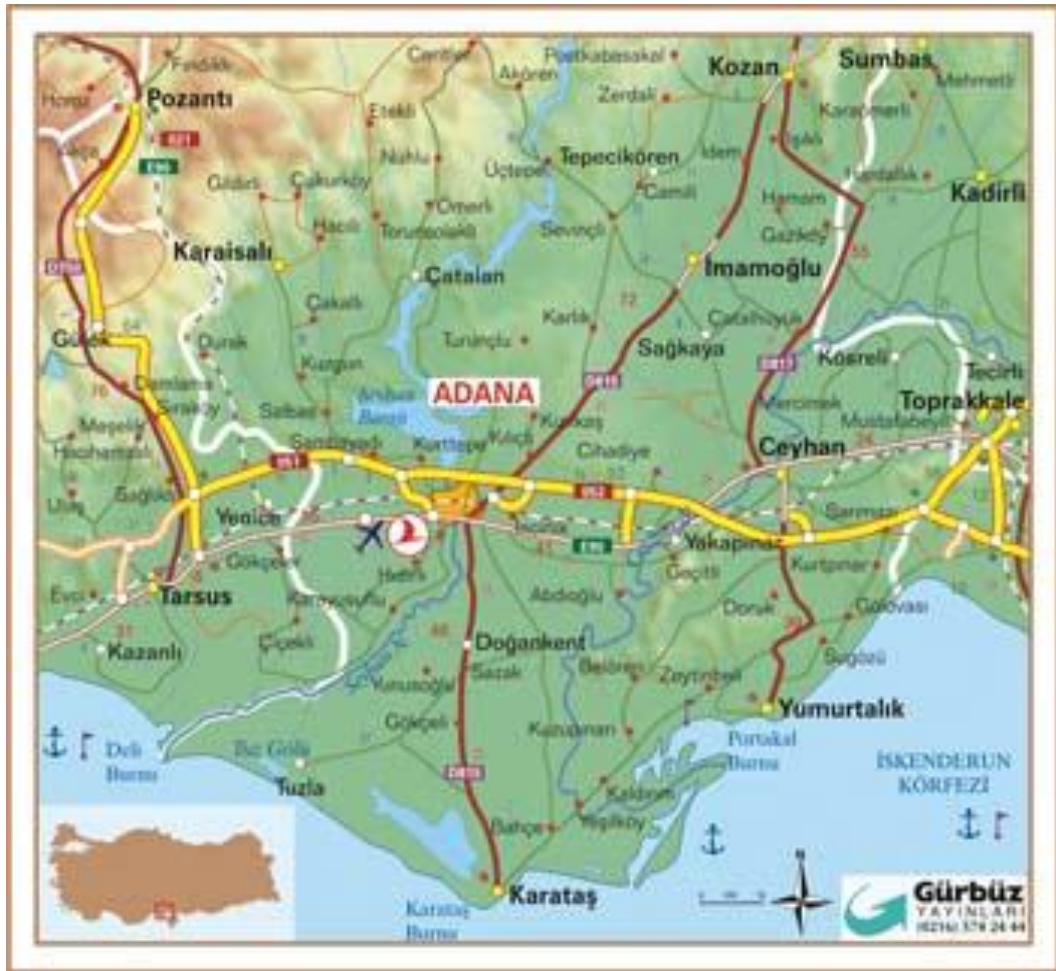


FIGURE 5.2.1-1: Adana, in Turkey and Çukurova Region

5.2.2. The Population Movements in Adana

The population in Adana city was 82,026 people in the first census done 1927. This population has increased rapidly from 109,839 people in 1935, up to nearly 1.94 million people at the year 2010 which mean nearly 16.7 times more than the first census. The economic development in the new Turkish Republic caused a great population leaps in Adana city limits as other urban areas during 1940's. This leaps; in accordance with the State policy after the World War II, was an example of a striking phenomenon of depopulation of rural areas.

This was indeed an inevitable result of the American Marshall Aid came as tractors and harvesting machineries, etc. During this period of time, agricultural products showing a quick harvest with the help of machineries freed a vast labor force from rural areas to urbanized places for seeking jobs which were not exist yet, all of a sudden.

Between the years 1955 and 1960 there was a great leap in migration from rural to urban sites. In Adana, which was one of the pioneers in agricultural production and their industries, was nearly invaded by that migration. The urban population rate was more than 8% for the years 1955 and 1960 (see Table 5.2.2-1). So that the city population nearly doubled in 1960 compared to 1950's. These population movements have been steadily continued on in years up today with increasing or descending rates.

Adana has succeeded a rapid development in industrialization that based on agriculture during 1960s. Meanwhile a dense rural to urban migration has been observed and finally number of people working in industry has increased. Labor shortages occurred in agricultural sector was tried to be compensated with agricultural workers brought from the Southeastern Anatolia provinces. However some of those people did not return to their home and settled in the region and the brought their relatives to the City.

As a result, population structure has undergone a great change just like those observed in other great cities of Turkey.⁶⁷

Between the years 1975 and 1980 there was a dramatic change in State's investment policies. The economy of the country had been transformed mainly from agricultural products into non-agricultural ones. Determining role of the agricultural sector in Turkish economy has started to diminish in 1980s as a result of the changing policies of the Turkish governments. Industrial sector of Adana, which was developed mainly based on agriculture up to that date, has been adversely affected from those negative conditions. Also the industrial workers were mostly engaged with Social Security conveniences while the agricultural workers were not. Because of this valuable attraction rapid increases in the urban population occurred once again. Besides as the inevitable result of this change, terrorism was also one of the external causes for rapid immigration continued from mostly south-eastern region. The leap in the Adana population can be seen at Table 5.2.2-1.

In 1990, concerning the population of the country the share of Adana was 2.88% in the total population of urban areas, where its share was 1.62% in general. According to the data of 2010, 17.8 % of the total population lives in Istanbul; while 6.4% in Ankara, 5.3% in İzmir, 3.5% in Bursa, and 2.8% lives in the Adana respectively. By this result, Adana dropped one level below in ranking and became the fifth largest city of Turkey in terms of the urban population within the city limits.⁶⁸

Adana has entered into an indecision period during this process, because Adana has started to lose its richness, stemmed from its agricultural activities and especially from cotton farming, as a result of government policies and implementation of the Southeastern Anatolia Project.

⁶⁷ ANONYMUS; 2006, p: 39.

⁶⁸ TÜİK-Bulletin No: 14, Jan.26th 2009, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr>

Meanwhile, traditional farmers with intensive capital resources could not dare to invest to fields other than agriculture. Both insufficiency of their training and their cultural habits did not allow them to do so.⁶⁹

The figures on the Table 5.2.2-2 below prove that the population development of Adana from 1950 until 2010 displays an incredible increase that is nearly about 9.5 times. The urban population increase rates most of the time was over Turkey's. For instance, at 1980 the annual urban increase rate was 3.87% in Adana, while it was 2.3% in Turkey.⁷⁰

A new province was founded by law with the former counties Osmaniye and Kadirli separated from the provincial territory of Adana in 1998, so the population was decreased but she was still the fifth largest city in ranking.

According to the results of the General Census of the year 2000; the population of Adana province was 1,849,478 people. The 76.31% of this population live in the central counties named Seyhan and Yüreğir.

In 2009, those two counties have been divided into two new administrative districts namely Sarıçam and Çukurova Counties. Currently, Adana Metropolitan Municipality is consisting of five metropolitan counties. Four of them are located in the city centre while Karaisalı County which is 47km away from city as the fifth. So, all the calculations and acceptances will be done about those four counties located in the city centre. There are 402,243 households in Adana province. The number of 247.000 is located in the city. In the next 15 years, Adana will need to produce additional 12.297 Ha of parcels to correspond the requirement of 263,310 housing units.⁷¹

⁶⁹ ANONYMUS; 2006, p: 40.

⁷⁰ TÜİK; <http://www.tuik.gov.tr>

⁷¹ T.C. Adana Valiliği; <http://www.adana.gov.tr>

TABLE 5.2.2-1: Population Development in Adana, (1927–2010)⁷²

PROVINCIAL POPULATION OF ADANA				
YEARS	Urban	Rural	TOTAL	Urban Pop. Annual Incr. Rate %
1927	82.026	145.709	227,735	---
1935	109.839	273.806	383,645	4.24
1940	118.506	257.271	375,777	7.90
1945	139.493	279.247	418,740	3.54
1950	166.696	341.822	508,518	3.90
1955	238.327	390.178	628,505	8.59
1960	334.039	426.764	760,803	8.03
1965	422.298	480.414	902,712	5.28
1970	535.668	509.702	1.035.377	5.37
1975	706.186	534.289	1.240.475	6.37
1980	842.845	642.898	1.485.743	3.87
1985	1.150.529	575.411	1.725.940	7.30
1990	1.366.060	579.601	1.945.565	3.75
*2000	1.397.853	451.625	1.849.478	0.23
2010	1.836.432	248.793	2.085.225	0.13

TABLE 5.2.2.-2: Annual Population Increase Rate⁷³

YEARS	Adana City Population(*)	Difference	Increase rate %
1950	117.642		
1960	231.548	113.906	0,96
1970	347.454	115.906	0,50
1980	567.214	219.760	0,63
1990	916.150	348.936	0,61
2000(**)	1.130.710	214.560	0,23
2010(**)	1.591.518	460.808	0,41

⁷² TUIK; <http://www.tuik.gov.tr>

NOTE: A new province was founded by law with the former counties Osmaniye and Kadirli apated from Adana territory in 1998, so the population was decreased in general

⁷³ (*) PBMI, Table: 7.3.1

(**) TUIK and Adana Metropolitan Municipality web pages

5.3. Changes in the Urban Macro Form in Adana

The modern spatial structure of the city had been started with the historic hilly core of Adana namely Tepebağ. The urban land surface up to 1930's that covers this old city core and its close environment surrounded by the farms located at the eastern coast of River Seyhan (Karşıyaka), is estimated about 370Ha.⁷⁴

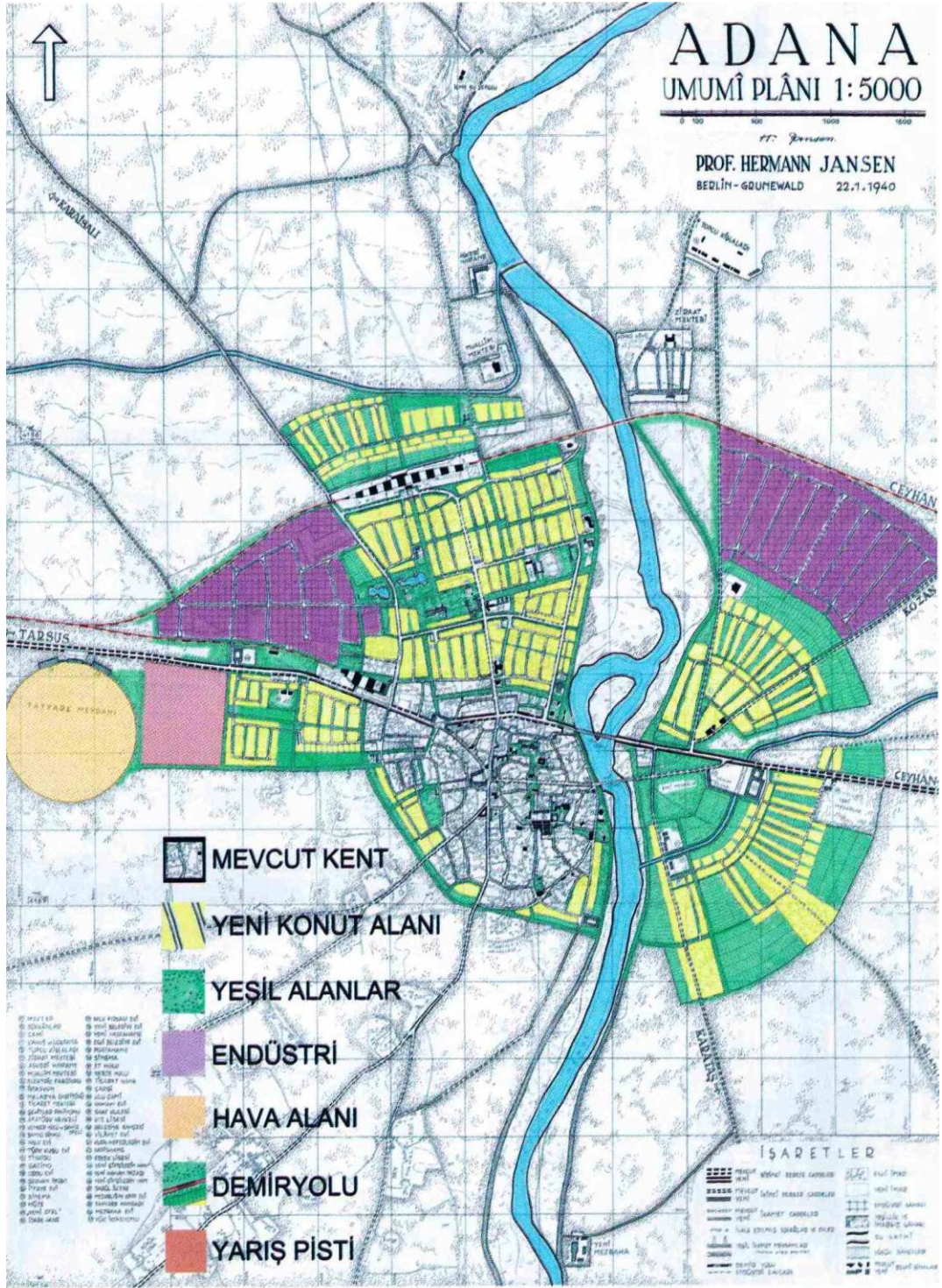


FIGURE 5.3.-1: Adana New Station Built 1912 (www.wowturkey.com)

The decade years of 1930 and 1940 the urban development had been concentrated on the north-northwest parts of the city core. So, a necessity for the implementation plans had been revealed. For this purpose, Prof. Hermann Jansen, a German Architect and city Planner, was invited to Adana. He had prepared the first plans in 1935 for the new neighborhoods namely the New Railway Station (Yeni İstasyon: built 1924) located at the northwest including Reşatbey at the north from the city core (Tepebağ). He had made his last master plan for Adana city at the date 1940⁷⁵.

⁷⁴ ÇETİNKAYA, U.B; (2009/1), p:68.

⁷⁵ ÖKEŞLİ, D:(2010), p:49



Şekil 6: Jansen'in 1940 tarihli son Adana planı (Kaynak: TU Berlin Architekturmuseum, Inv. Nr. 23367, 23368 ve 23369)

FIGURE 5.3.-2: Jansen's Master Plan for Adana, 1940 (ÖKEŞLİ, D; 2010), p: 49

There were additional local plans designed by two different architects upon order of the Adana Municipality. The first one was made for the city core by Mr. Necmi Ateş in 1943. The second one was made for the Karşiyaka (eastern plains of the riverside) by Mr. Asım Kömürcüoğlu in 1948.

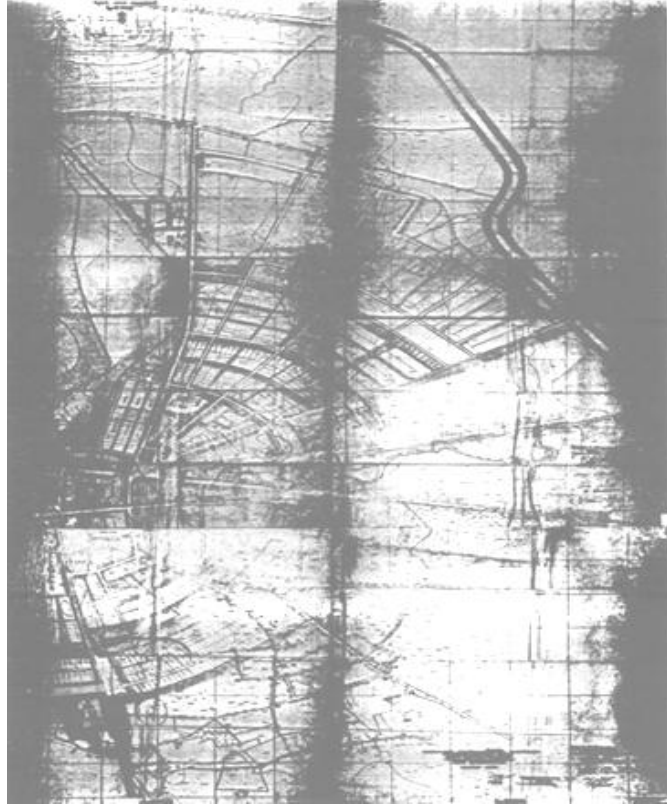


FIGURE 5.3.-3: Kömürcüoğlu's Plan for Karşiyaka, 1948 (İller Bankası, 1966)

The modern spatial structure of the city started with the historic core in the middle and clustered by the New Station building area in the north, the industrial units located towards to the airport in the west while the old housing areas located at the eastern bank of Seyhan River towards Ceyhan named Karşiyaka and/or Yüreğir localities. These were the urban thresholds of Adana in 1950's, same as shown in Jansen's plans. In the middle of the 20th century, the urban macro form of Adana city was looked like an "oil spot".

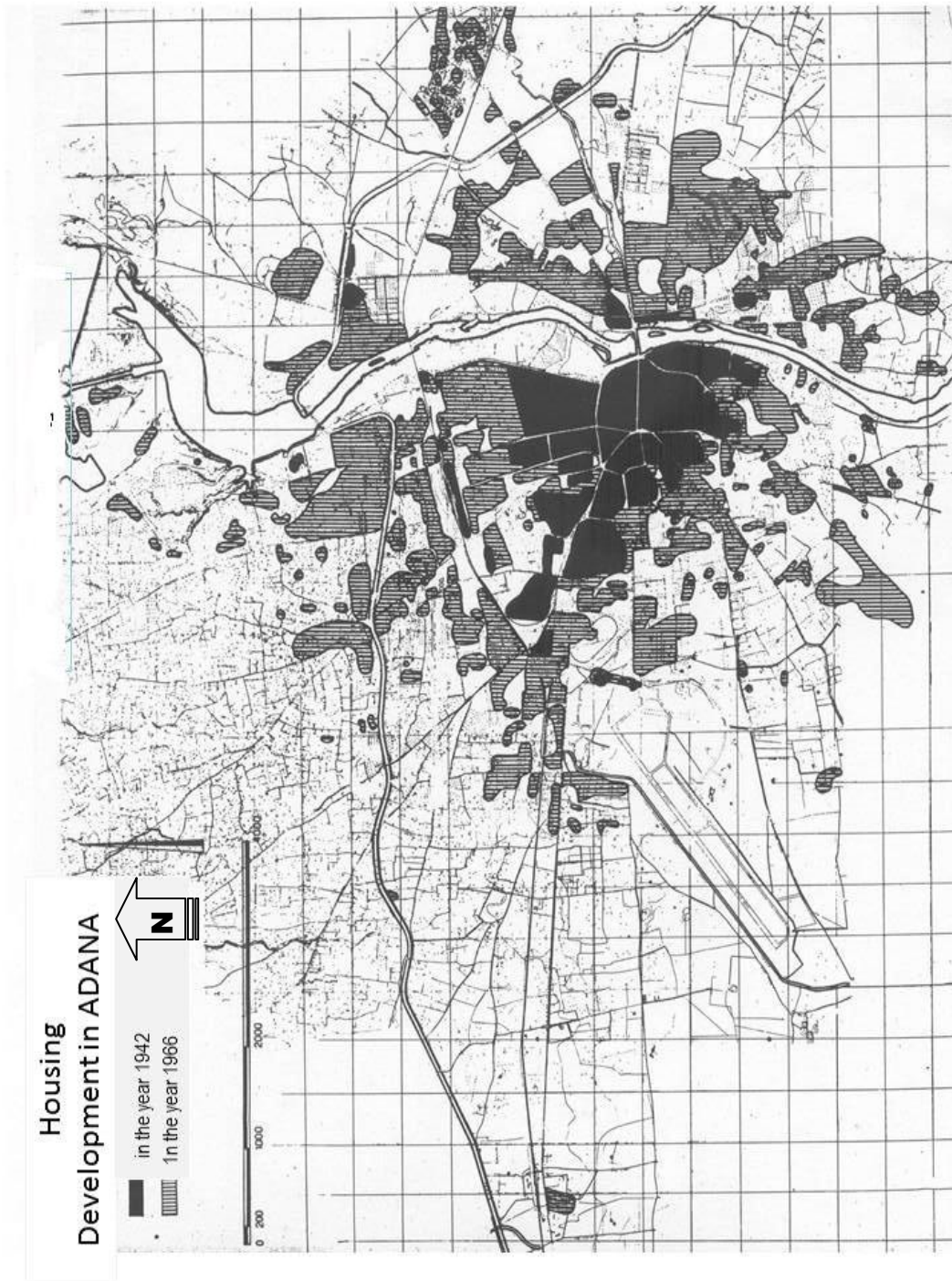


FIGURE 5.3.-4: Housing Development in Adana upto mid 1960s.
 (İller Bankası; 1966)

The municipality had been forced to search for the new urban plans by this unpredictable vast and the fast urban development. With the help of İller Bankası* (Bank of Provinces) a competition was organized for Adana Master and Implementation Plans at 1966. For this competition a large research had made done for the city of Adana and was published.

The team who won the competition was consist of three architects, namely Mr. Bülent Berksan, Mr. Mehmet Ali Topaloğlu and Mrs. Melahat Topaloğlu, had started working on the plans which were approved by 1969.

The planning team had prepared the plan on total surface of 10,300 Ha areas for the final destination year 1985 with the base population of 1.000.000 people. The main housing development directions of this plan were towards to the north-northwest corridor. ⁷⁶

* Bank of Provinces: This government institution was founded upon the request of Atatürk on June 11, 1933 under the name of "Bank of Municipalities" with 15 million Turkish Lira capitals. The status of the Bank was setting various supports only for the municipalities in technical terms by either providing implementation plans or providing credits for financing the constructions of infra structures. The Bank of Municipalities had been converted in a new structure for supporting all the rural local authorities of a province besides the municipalities. So the name "Bank of Municipalities" had been changed as the "Bank of Provinces".

⁷⁶ ÇETİNKAYA, U. B; (2009/1), p:69.

5.4. Economic Development of the Region and Adana

According to the records, cotton cultivation has been started at 1572 A.C. on Çukurova plain where the climate and soil conditions was appropriate but it was never exported to other regions either inland or the other countries.

Starting at 1830 A.C. then after İbrahim Pasha (son of Governor of Egypt) has brought new farmers from Egypt who knew how to develop those primitive cotton cultivation methods, during his period⁷⁷

In 1860, due to the American civil war United Kingdom has forced to search for new fields to provide necessary cotton for his industry. The French and the Germans were also became interested in Cukurova Cotton besides United Kingdom. This interest gave a new start in the region to use the first agricultural machineries, imported from Europe.⁷⁸

This dramatic change in economic life affected the social life of the city. With the cotton cultivation many strangers came as merchants and/or industrialists in one side and the migration of seasonal workers has started in the other. In the early part of 20th century conflicts between these three country interests emerged. The German influence on the region grew widely as well as the other regions of the Ottoman Empire before and during the World War I. But this was replaced with French occupation between the years 1918-1924 on Çukurova region at the end.

Until 1950's Adana's economic structure was generally depended on cotton and the wheat production besides marketing them in stocks. In this period, small scale cotton gin-presses, thread and oil mills were assumed as the major components of the industry.

⁷⁷ Adana Sanayi Odası: (2008), p:26–27

⁷⁸ Adana Sanayi Odası: (2008), p:179–180

The quality of the cotton fiber is largely depending on the way of picking cocoons. Picking can be done successfully by the machineries only if seeding made by the machineries due to their technical standards, also. But, because cotton cultivation is done due to the classical way (by hand or by primitive seeding appliances) the distances between the cotton plants irregular than picking cocoons needs to be done manually for the safe of the quality of fibers. On the other hand, the investments on drainage system for the Çukurova region starting with Seyhan Dam in mid 1950s caused an expending need of cotton workers in Adana. So, this excessive migration has led to a population explosion. Today the majority of workers are still coming from the South East Anatolia as well as before.

Mechanization, irrigation and using fertilizers have increased productivity in important amounts; hence the revenues of large land owners are also increased into the higher levels. This revenue growth in the region created a cooperation of the merchants and industrialists. This fruitful cooperation was the cradle of the capital accumulation for the development of today's industry. In 1960's there were many large-scale weaving mills and seed oil mills under control of the family firms in industry as well as in agriculture.

The year round job searching efforts of cotton field workers during off seasons had created a large amount of labor market. This market had an important difference than the seasonal labor market. Normally they came alone or very seldom with their families to work in the fields for few months then went back to their villages. But when they could found a year round job in the factories they began to bring their families with them permanently. That was the hidden cause of the emerging problems especially in housing and consequently in the other ultra structures of the city such as education, health, transportation, etc. This industrial development was depending on the cotton in the beginning, but the conditions have been changed gradually and become independent from agricultural crops of cotton and oily seeds and naturally state support.

According to the industrial census made in 1978, there were only left 14 of the 207 large industrial sites belonging to the public. In addition, although the agriculture-based textile sector is still outstanding, chemistry and machine manufacturing industries also began to strengthen. Today, in addition to oil and food production besides manufacturing agricultural machinery, a variety of industry types such as chemicals, small automotive hardware, various machinery design and producing, etc. have been rapidly continue to evolve. So, the weaving sector as the traditional symbol of Adana has left behind ⁷⁹

The employee populations who work close to the city centre are also evolving from agriculture to the industry in parallel with the raised economic development. For example, the rate of employees in agriculture was 6.32% in 1980 but it has receded to 4.25% in 1990. In addition, the marginal services sector is proportionally at the second level over the years, while trading sector is in progress. According to a search made in 1990, 75.3% of the immigrants were from Southeastern Anatolia and neighboring areas. 25% of the population of the city was born outside of Adana. When the parents who were born and raised outside of Adana added to this amount then the total is raised up to 50%.⁸⁰

As a summary, today the city of Adana has become an important centre of a true market for workers in rapidly industrialized Cukurova region. This labor population is not only connected to the villages within the districts of Adana, but in general is based on the arrivals from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia.

At the end, this “Journey to Hope” phenomenon (migration from rural to urban areas) has created their own “non-urbanized rural originated society” in Adana..

⁷⁹ Adana Sanayi Odası: (2008), p:179–180

⁸⁰ Adana Güçbirliği Vakfı,(2000), p:70

CHAPTER 6

URBANIZATION IN ADANA TOWARDS THE YEAR 2000

The River Seyhan had played very important role in the spatial organization of Adana since she was established as a settlement. Seyhan is born from Taurus Mountains in the north and flows along to the Mediterranean in the south. This is a natural barrier for the people who want to go from west to the east. So they need to make a bridge and a place (maybe a tower) to protect themselves against enemies and bandits besides collecting toll from the passengers. But the problem was giving a decision to keep on which side of the River Seyhan.

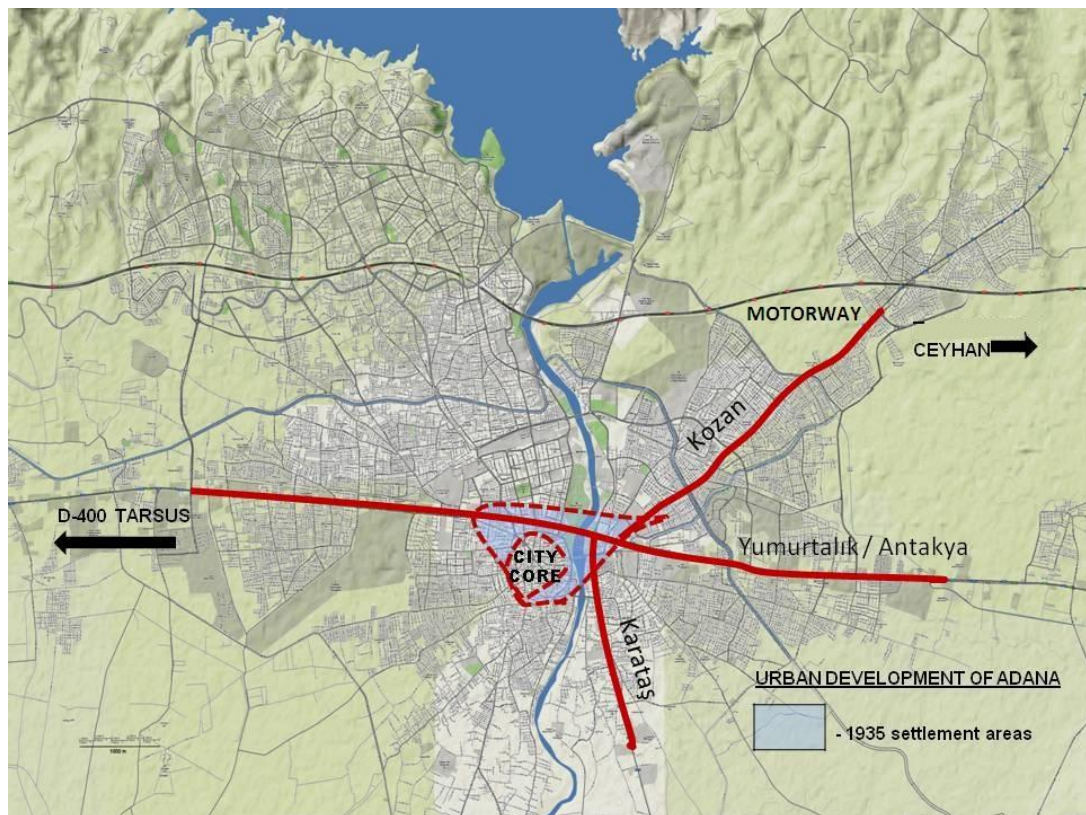


FIGURE 6.-1: Ancient Development in Adana: up to 1935 (Author's Draw)

On the eastern side there are three main roads for trading centers make a junction. These are Karataş Road (an antique port named Magarsus) from south, Kozan Road (antique named Sis) from the north and main road to east and south east towards Yumurtalık (an antique port named Aigae) and Antakya (Antioch) by İskenderun (Alexandria).

Therefore the western side of the river should have been selected because there is only one road coming west from inland via Tarsus. So it was easy to defend the bridge. Thus the spatial organization of the city had been set in shape up today.

Up to the 1950s the spatial organization of the east of the river looked like scattered “kerpiç” (sun dried bricks made of mud and hay) cottages along the roads and fields were between them. After 1950 Incirlik Air Base had established. Because it was a military area a large part of the region restricted for new settlements. Turkish army had decided to enlarge his service base located at near the east River side. In 1953 the Seyhan Dam had started to produce electricity and drainage for the plains. Later on, 1973 Cukurova University selected its campus on the north-east side of the river and started its educational life. Kozan Road was left between those regions and people (mostly migrants from rural) had to settle along it. At the south, along the Karataş Road the “kerpiç” cottages left from the last century located as they were with their horticulture characteristics. But the most important handicap for the eastern Adana was the lack of a city centre.

At the western side of River Seyhan, the airport and Hippodrome were the main obstacles besides factories. And at the south the scenery is more or less same with Karşıyaka (the eastern side of the river). So, there seems that there is only one direction left for the development, north-northwest along the Karaisalı Road.⁸¹

⁸¹ ERGİNKAYA, C.K.;1996, p:14-15

6.1. Existing Housing Stock

Housing stock is one of the most important and an extensive usage of the urban area. According to the results of 1990 Population Census, there were 181,198 housing units determined in total of 76 neighborhoods in Adana,

Concerning the residential areas by their owners' economic status, the Upper Income Groups takes place on the three main boulevards from the center right to the North.

The Middle Income Groups, preferred to settle wide spread at Seyhan and Cukurova counties. These groups prefer to locate along the west corridor around Tarsus-Mersin state road, starting from the northwest corridor up to the Karaisalı Drive with Mahfesiğmaz zone besides Baraj yolu zone on the way to the Seyhan Dam.

The Middle Income Groups in Yüreğir District of Adana have chosen to settle along with Kışla Street and Kozan State Road to the northeast direction. In addition, at the Seyhan River east bank in some regions the middle and low income groups are located.

People who live in the south and southeast regions are mostly engaged in agriculture. These housing areas have very low standards compared to users' incomes because they are very old and inherited from their indigenous ancestors of the region.

The first immigrants of 1950s and 1960s were mainly the agricultural workers who came for seasonal working with low payments mostly to collect cotton in the summer time. The workers brought as single male groups of bachelors or without their families and mostly from same localities of Southeast Anatolian District. Those workers were generally located and lived in tents on the northeast and the southeast parts of the city where closer to the cotton fields.



FIGURE 6.1.-1: Karşıyaka- Seyhan River eastside 2004 (Author's Archive)

There was a mild weather in Adana comparing with their home lands, besides many opportunities for different jobs rather than working in the fields encouraged them bringing their families to settle down. There were also some parcels of land left vacant within the old housing areas which mostly belong to the national treasury.

To solve the housing problem, those first permanent immigrants built up their own “gecekondu” houses on those lands without any permission. These were also built without any care for earthquake and infrastructure.⁸²

The second groups were located around the Airport at the southwest side of Adana between the years 1975 and 1980. The land was mostly owned by the indigenous local people who have their own deeds. Furthermore, because the area were the partly used for vegetable and fruit farming

⁸² GÜRÇİNAR, Y.; (2008)

(mainly orchards) it was settled wide apart. So that there were enough space to fulfill with squatters which at least had its own title deeds can be bought instead of the ones built on the public lands and so without any deed. That means enough security for a new comer to the city.

The fast developing industrial sites located at the both sides of the Tarsus-Mersin State Road had a continuously need for labor. This was one of the reasons why this area was preferred by the immigrants. The other reason the lack of empty land (either public or private) for squatter housing in the east of city. Because they were already constructed in earlier times

In addition to these reasons above, there was another one, land prices. Because the presence of factories had carried the land prices to the upper levels, nearly the most expensive plots left on the said highway and surroundings. Thus, the southwest region of the city was attractive enough for those low income groups with its relatively low-priced fields.

In recent years, the housing development in the city was especially in the direction of the northwestern corridor. The lands owned by either private or public are planned and the ground is accepted firm and reliable for the building bases due to the geological reports. So the housing areas are developing dramatically.

1990 census DİE based data given in the publication.⁸³ Socio-Economic Structure of Adana is used for the evaluation of the size and ownership of the households in Adana. During the Census surveys are made for each house so the accuracy rate is quite high. According to the survey, the largest group in the Seyhan County population is the families having four persons in average.

The proportion was 21.9% of 624,182 people who were living in 131,921 dwelling units within the county. The families consist of 9 members have a

⁸³ Adana Güçbirliği Vakfı,(2000), p:70-77

rate up to hardly 2.4%. The total average family size that has been identified is 4.74 people.

The proportion of ownership with the family size relationship at the housing area is, 60.2% resides their own house while others (probably the tenants) stays at the level of 39.8%. The four people sized households, who live in their own houses are 20.5%, while the nine people sized households are in the minority with 2.9%.

Construction Statistics accordingly provinces and municipalities were issued in 1989, by DİE. In this publication, there are various official permits for new constructions and/or for the buildings partially or completely done besides Occupancy Permits given by Municipalities for to reside in a dwelling.

According to the above publication, there were 942 apartment type residential building construction permits granted for 7,619 flats. The majority of the buildings were the apartment blocks with 15 or more storey while the others were one or double-storey single structures. Also in the same year, according to the usage permissions for buildings 1,705 units of single building and 9,322 units of apartment type building were completed. There is a point of attraction on the average size of a flat within the apartment blocks. The gross value of 147m² is seemed quite high.

When the housing cooperative buildings are examined; 3,317 flat units determined still in construction while 6,133 flats settled due to the permits. That means, in 1989, according to the construction permits, 43.5% of the apartments has been constructed by cooperatives and also according to the resident permits 65.8% of the flats constructed by housing cooperatives.⁸⁴

The final conclusion is housing cooperatives are widely used as a favorable tool in Adana for the construction sector.

⁸⁴ Adana Güçbirliği Vakfı,(2000), p:70-77

6.2. Housing Cooperatives in Adana

Previously in Adana, there were few private constructions besides official housing as same as the other localities in Turkey. The organization efforts in housing production have started with the planned urbanization studies after Republic.

The housing cooperatives in Adana were founded mainly in three models as seen in other parts of Turkey:

1) Single Building: Cooperatives founded for the construction of a single building on a single urban parcel,

2) Large Scale Housing: Cooperatives founded for the construction of large scale housing projects for too many members according to a local implementation plan designed especially for this purpose.

3) Mass Housing: Efforts to organize the cooperatives to develop an urban region planned for mass housing area.

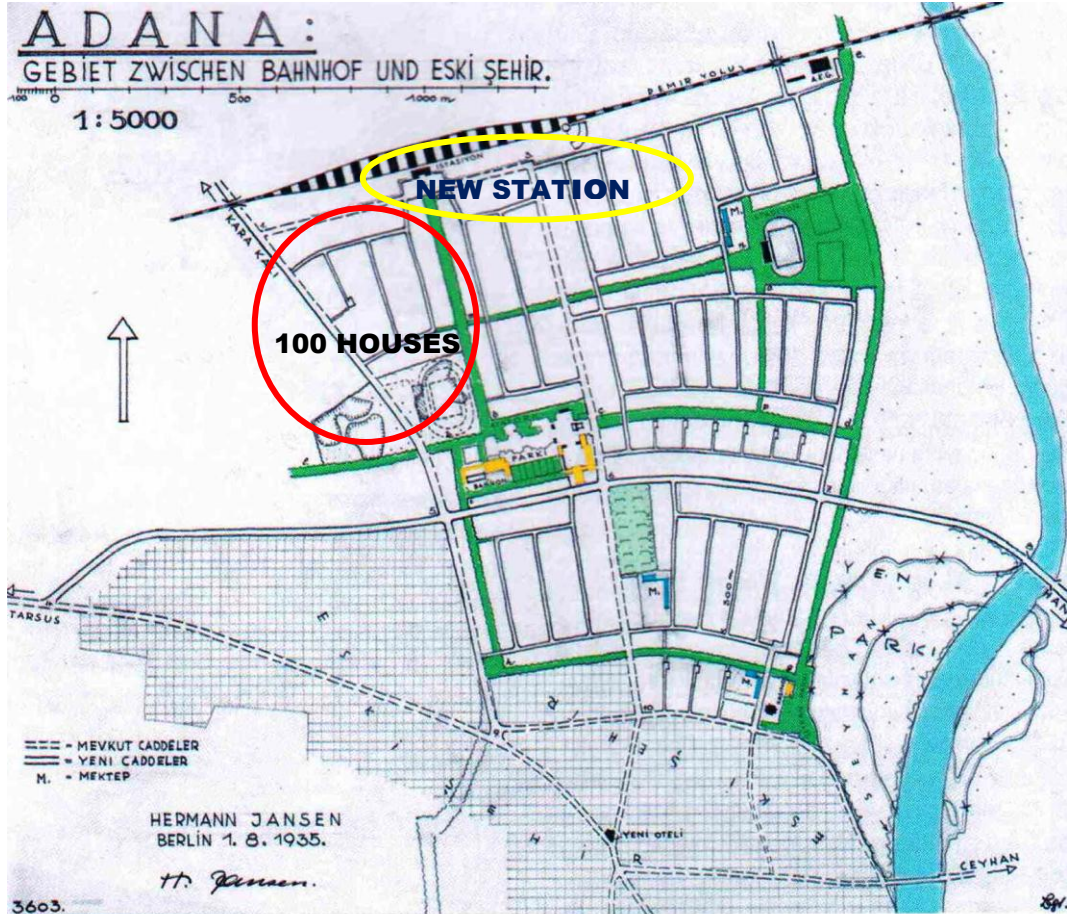
Others, except the first model, are the concern of this study. There are many samples especially located on the north and north-west corridor of the city.

- **100 Evler (Hundred Houses) Housing Cooperative**

First sample for this phenomenon was the plan for the improving the swamp areas located at north-west of the city core closer to the New Railway Station for habitation. The eucalyptus trees planted while the surface water drained by channels.

Today this area is very close to the heart of the city with his fancy shops, bars and luxury residents for high income people. But some of the old and large eucalyptus trees remained with a large green area called Atatürk Parkı which reminds us the past.

This swamp area, located at the north-west of old city centre, was assumed as a developing area in two reconstruction plans prepared by German architect and city planner Prof. Herman Jansen. The area marked with red circle in the below Plan 6.2-1 was only a draft in 1935.



Şekil 3: Jansen'in hazırladığı 1935 tarihli ilk plan (Kaynak: TU Berlin Architekturmuseum, Inv. Nr. 23347)

FIGURE 6.2.-1: Adana West: Plans by Prof. H. Jansen-1935 (ÖKEŞLİ, p: 48-51)

While it was apparently planned as “*Sample Housing Area*” in 1940, the area was divided into parcels where a single house located in every parcel of land. This area was one of the first developed regions according to the implementation plans with this housing cooperative movement, but unfortunately there is no evidence left, how this urban development begun

and succeed. Most of the original houses were sold to the private contractors in "Yap-Sat" (Built and Sale) terms.

Simply because Prof. H. Jansen originally designed every land parcel with average 40m depth which is proper according today's rules to construct an apartment alone itself.⁸⁵

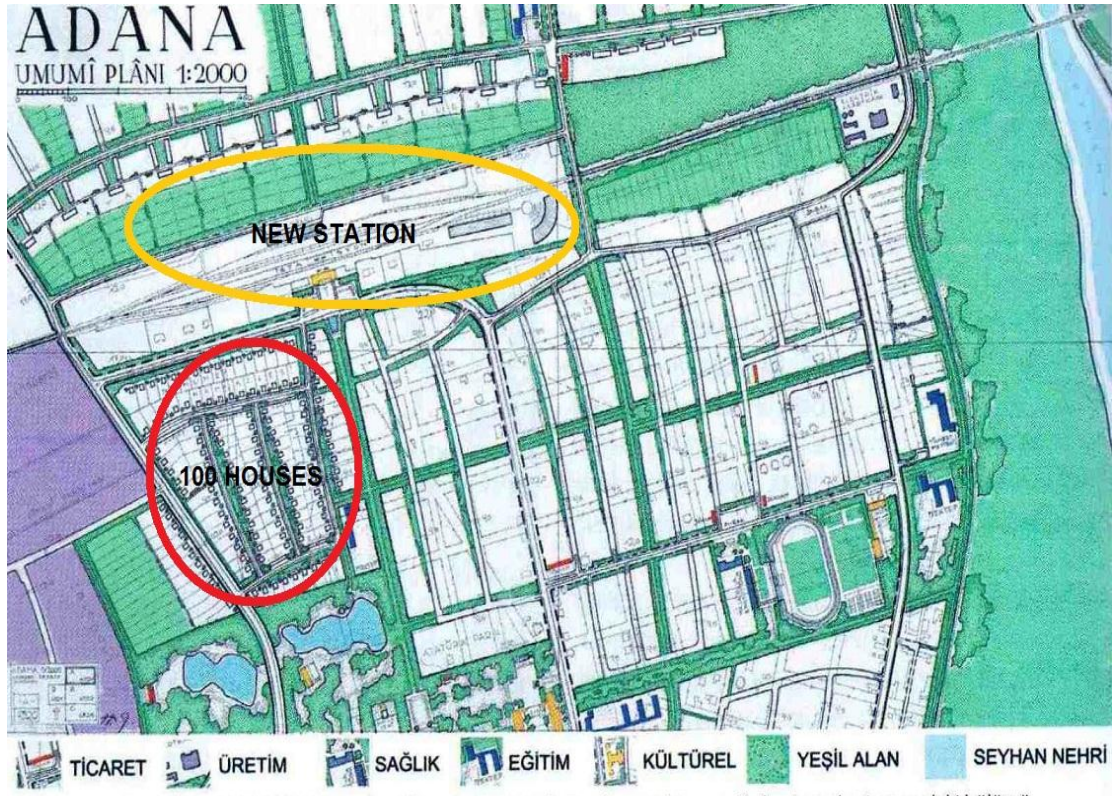


FIGURE 6.2.-2: Adana West: Plans by Prof. H. Jansen-1940 (ÖKEŞLİ, p: 48-51)

Although there were nearly 160 houses in the plan, the neighborhood was called "Hundred Houses". Because there were 100 two storey houses constructed with the credit support by Emlak ve Eytam Bankası between the years 1940 and 1947.⁸⁶This is the reason why the area called 100 Houses.

⁸⁵ ÖKEŞLİ, D. 2012- p:50

⁸⁶ ADANA MİMARLIK REHBERİ,2006; p:4.



FIGURE 6.2.-3: Hundred Houses, an original house left with garden,
(Author's archive)

Because the region was designed with narrow inner streets as a housing area there are no parking lots. Also, because of large gardens there was no need of playgrounds for children as well as parks for older people.

So with the constructions of 14 storey apartment blocks, there aroused the urgent need for public parking lots as well as the extra green areas. But there is no room left in the area for planning those public affairs.

As a result with the time passing by Yüzevler (Hundred Houses) Housing Cooperative had vanished first as for a cooperative body then as the houses with their gardens, so the environment created. This was happened before with Güvnevler Housing Cooperative which was the second Housing Cooperative of Turkish Republic in Ankara,once. Kubin declares that this is

a chain development and the main source of this problem is breaking out of the first ring of the chain.⁸⁷

According to her, an ideal housing cooperative has to be comprised below principles:

1. Collective saving
2. Collective use of the credits
3. Collective production (i.e. construction)
4. Collective usage (of the close environment as common spaces)
5. Collective management (of common spaces)
6. Collective maintenance (of common spaces and infra structures, etc.)

However in Turkey, from the beginning until today, the viewpoint of either individuals or institutions about the cooperative phenomenon and the environment arranged by the cooperative enterprises has been always partial rather than comprehensive. At personal level, only the first three of the principles stated above had been important.

As a natural result of this kind of approach, the body of Yüzevler Cooperative had vanished after paying a certain amount of debt to get their title deeds. Thus the first three rings of the chain were broken. The only thing left from this cooperative movement was left a living environment consisted of separated houses. As a result, these separated houses sold to a contractor for being replaced with multistory apartments in “built and sale” basis. Thus the other rings of the chain were also broken, as for some housing cooperatives that will be discussed.

⁸⁷ KUBİN, G.; 1991, P:113-114.



FIGURE 6.2.-4: Hundred Houses view from main road (North), 2012
(Author's Archive)



FIGURE 6.2.-5: Hundred Houses view from inner parts with new multi storey apartments on narrow streets, 2012 (Author's Archive)

- **State Railroad Workers Housing Cooperative** (TCDD Mensupları Konut Yapı Koop)

Right up to the north of 100 Evler Cooperative, the State Railroad Workers Housing Cooperative (TCDD Mensupları Konut Yapı Koop) has been located along the south of the railroad.

Today some of the houses were expropriated to enlarge the main road passing by New Station building while some sold to the private contractors to build apartments. So, there are unfortunately a few one-storey single houses with a small garden left as originally built.



FIGURE 6.2.-6: State Railroad Workers Housing, 2012 (Author's Archive)

- **Devrim (Revolution) and Yurt (Homeland) Neighborhoods**

After the revolution of May 27th, 1960 succeeded by the Turkish Army, the new administration appointed gave great importance to housing construction projects. They had supported multi member building cooperatives in order to be successful with their housing policies. Many independent multi-member housing cooperatives had established in Adana, for the time period. The first cooperative settlements, Devrim (Revolution) and Yurt (Homeland) Neighborhoods were located at the northwest corridor along Karaisalı State Road. These regions were far away located above the fertile fields of southern Adana reserved for particularly fruit and cotton cultivation. Because the soil is comparatively less fertile and the weather conditions are milder due to the hilly topography, the cooperatives mostly could find lands with relatively economic prices.

As the time passes, the cooperative houses settled and the infra structure such as road, sewerage, water and electricity, etc. were more or less set. Then the remaining fields left somehow vacant have begun to be covered by the small retail shops besides single squatters houses rapidly build. The cost of land was still relatively much less in compare with the land prices of south. These neighborhoods have a continuous spread within scattered type located housing from 1960's until 1970's with the governmental support as a part of mix economic development. (See: FIGURE 6.2.-7) The houses were turned into low quality unregistered multi storey buildings by time, either via the contractors employed by the owners or by the owners themselves. So there seem nearly no residual of original buildings left.

At the time being the most respected residential zone of the city was located between the historic centre and to the north up the railway station. These are Cemalpaşa, Reşatbey and Kurtuluş Neighborhoods which also have the same respect today.

- **YSE Workers Housing Cooperative** (YSE İşçi Yapı Kooperatifi)

It was established by 60 workers who work in this YSE public work place in 1969. After legally founded, cooperative administrators immediately began to look for a proper land for them. After a long search, they found an appropriate land on a side of a hill having Dam Lake panorama. The land was away from the city limits but very close to Karslı Village which was helpful only for a weak public transportation connection to the city centre but land price was lower.

The land was not involved with the implementation plans, so that the members kept their savings first to buy the land. Then they continue to save capital for the building projects and construction. But, obtaining main infrastructures as water, electricity and road took much time. Some members could not sustain so the membership has begun transferred to middle and high income groups.

The construction has finally begun in 1973, but this time relatively high inflation became a great barrier for the membership fees. The cooperative had to change two contractors due to irregular payment and control problems between the years 1977 and 1978. At the end, cooperative members had to complete their own houses themselves. Mean time, an improvement plan for this area was prepared by the author as the project owner while other implementation plans designed. By this way the cooperative housing area was added into the planned section of Seyhan Municipality.

Today, this cooperative and its whole environment are accepted much respected area for the higher income groups. All parcels are fulfilled with double or triple buildings besides social areas such as luxurious restaurants, night clubs etc. surrounded by large green parks.

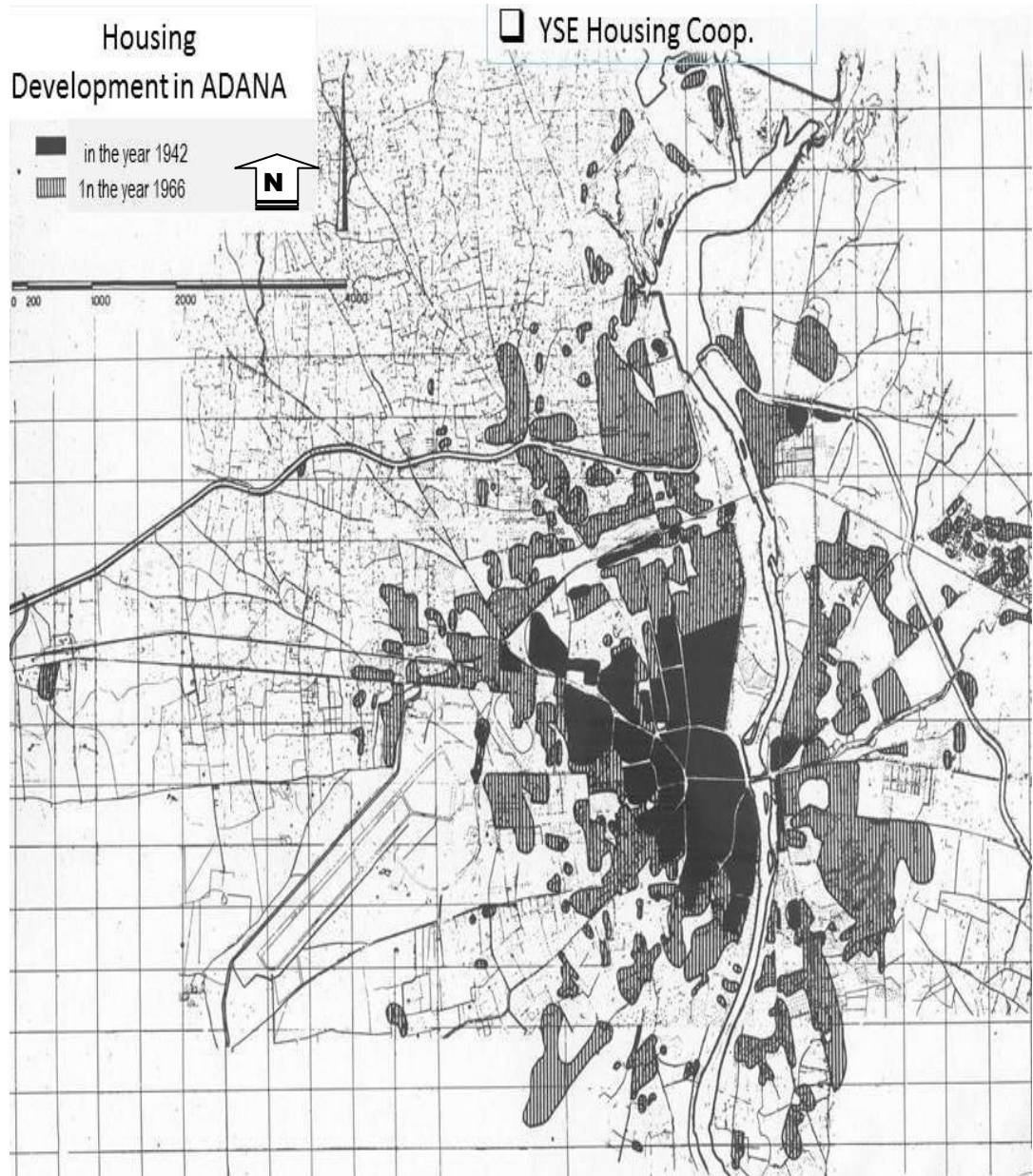


FIGURE 6.2.-7: The Location of the YSE Coop (İller Bankası: 1966)

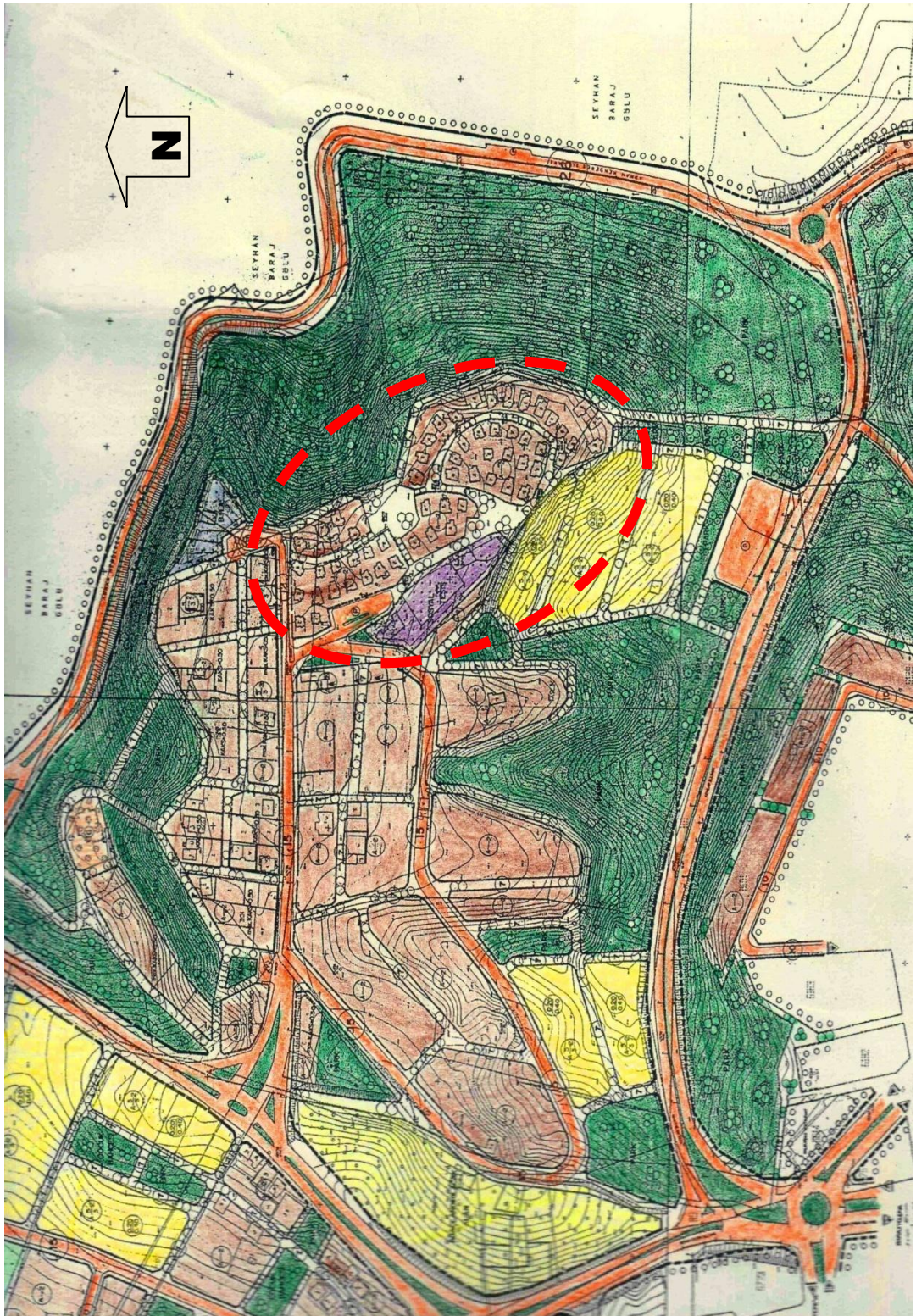


FIGURE 6.2.-8: YSE Housing Coop. Implementation Plan 1997 (Author's Archive)

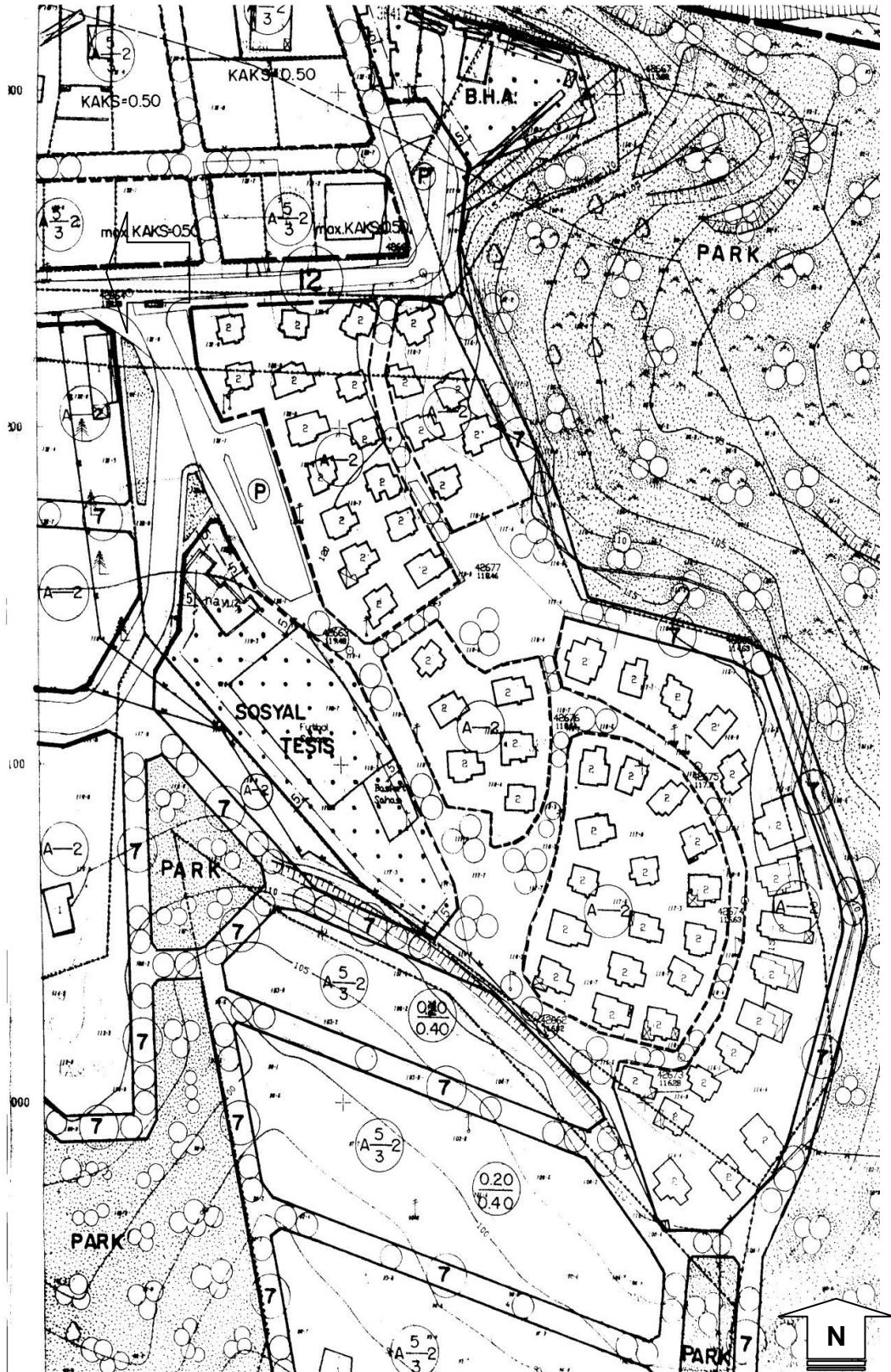


FIGURE 6.2.-9: YSE Housing Coop. Implementation Plan 1997, scale:1/1000
(Author's Archive)

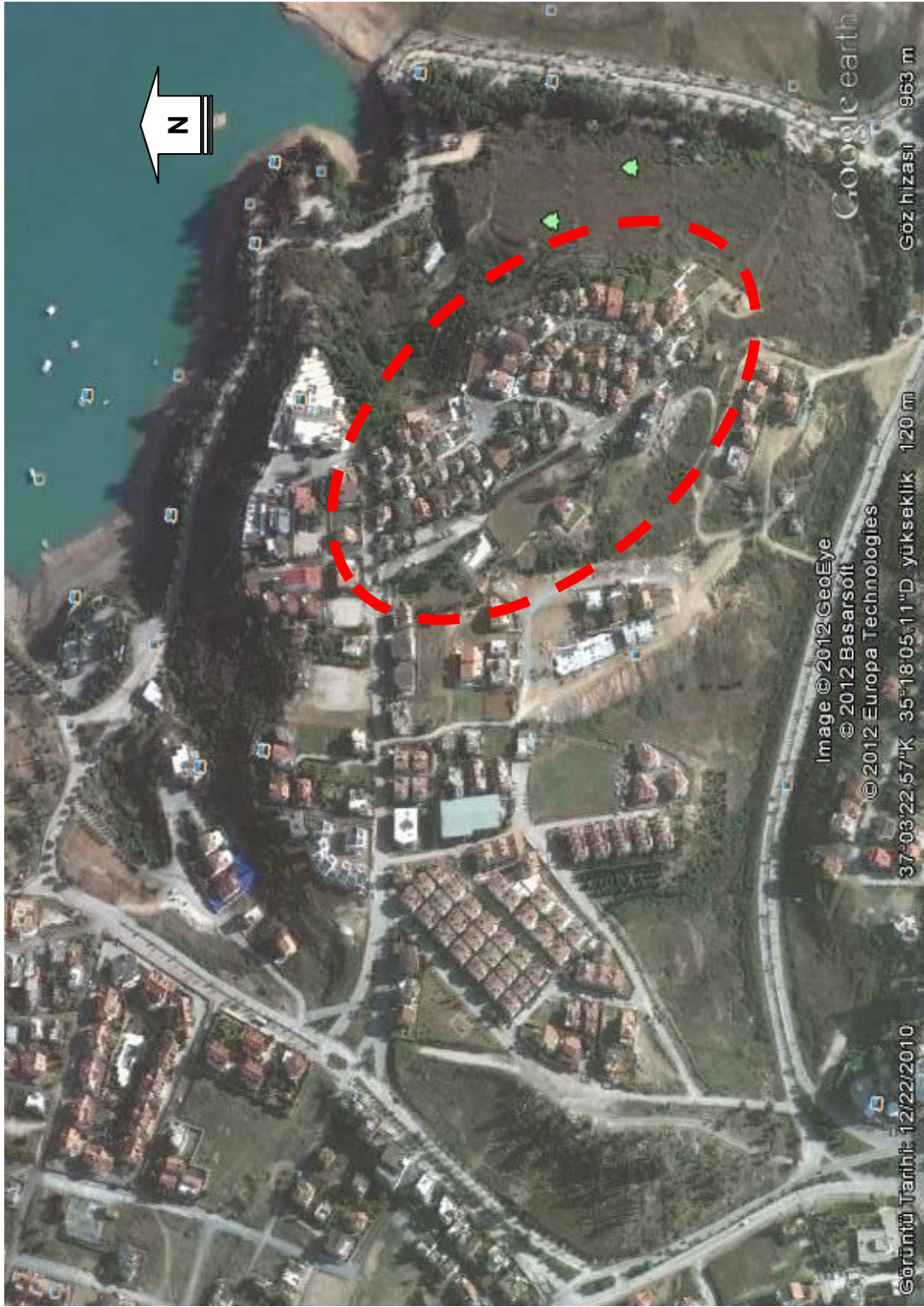


FIGURE 6.2.-10: YSE Housing Coop. 2012 (by Google earth)

In the early 1970's the "tunnel form system" was brought in construction as an industrialized technique. This system was a great opportunity in production of mass housing in very short time with a certain quality. So many organized constructing firms and some of the cooperatives used this technique for their housing needs. Furthermore with the credit supports coming from the government, housing cooperatives become an appropriate way to have an economic residential unit. More important than this, cooperatives could complete their buildings and members began to reside in their houses in a short time interval than before. Thus, "never ending housing cooperative" stories become less.

- **100 Year Housing Cooperative** (100. Yıl Yapı Kooperatifi)

At the beginning of 1980's, starting with an impact of another militarist era the 100 Year Housing Cooperative was established with 3500 members. All the members were either workers or officials who work for different governmental institutions like members of university, teachers, chemists or engineers, etc. The Governor of Adana was elected as the honorable president.

The cooperative administrators had started to search a large and appropriate land for building fine houses for 3500 members. Again the proper land has been found in northwest corridor on the Karaisalı State Road. In general, area was located on the top of two hills standing side by side. The land was dried and rocky such that besides the slope and rough topography cultivation was nearly impossible. Addition to these features for construction, some parcels of area chosen were in public ownership which means, overall land prices would be very low for such a large land.

Cooperative administration had ordered an implementation plan especially made with architectural projects for two storey small houses with garden and four storey apartment buildings for 8 flats in each. After the approval by

Municipality, they immediately started for construction. But inadequate payment levels which were determined for the cooperative members with low income, caused difficulties for the construction expenses. Especially with the problems in collecting payments besides fast changing hands in the membership kept the cooperative constructions slower. Along with the problems of the bureaucracy for paying the dues and lack of administrative control power besides decreasing the value of members' payments due to high inflation in economy made the constructions stopped for a while more than one.

Then, the cooperative managers had decided to divide the area into two neighborhoods, so that two different construction firms were invited to complete the unfinished buildings left. With this method the buildings have been completed in 1988.⁸⁸



FIGURE 6.2.-11: 100. Year Housing Cooperative (ÇOPUROĞLU, A.; p:59)

⁸⁸ ÇOPUROĞLU, A.; p: 59.

However, this time some of the buildings had to be located onto the different parcels than seen in site plans. This was done due to find geologically firm grounds for their bases. The plans had to be changed for the last time to set the title deeds according to the reel positions of the buildings on their own cadastral lots in order to distribute the proper deeds to the members. Furthermore, the author had designed with a supplementary plan that a proper space for gas station and car care services with a building area to set PTT (Post, Telephone & Telegram) services and maintenance besides a second shopping and social center

The Governorship persuaded the Municipality for a fast approval of the plans. So, this time new plans for this above reason were ordered from a local planning firm. At last, a ceremonial lottery meeting was organized via public notary for the distribution of those title deeds to the 3500 members.

But a little after this ceremony, all members of the cooperative administration resigned. At this time, the lack of an official authority those were responsible for the environmental arrangements such as completing infrastructure and landscaping of parks and other large green areas, etc. besides providing order in collecting fees for paying the wages to the janitors, gardeners and technicians for maintenances.

Meanwhile the Prime Minister of the period (Mr. Turgut Özal) was in Adana for an official visit. After a short brief and a sightseeing tour, he gave some directions to the Mayor of the time in completing the remained works. The Municipality completed infrastructure barely in time besides approving new changes in zoning plans for main roads and green areas.

Today there are nearly 15,000 people live in only the said cooperative area. The actual population is much more than this because of the private housing block and mass housing sites completed by the Adana Metropolitan Municipality since then carried the population up to nearly 50.000 people.



FIGURE 6.2.-12: 100.YIL Housing Cooperative, 2012 (by Google Earth)

- **The Possibilities Created by the Municipality**

Adana Metropolitan Municipality had already made new plans for the north of Adana and called it as “New Adana”. Four different wide boulevards namely, Öğretmenler, Çobanoğlu, Kenan Evren and Turgut Özal had been constructed to the north of the city besides with the support to present Karaisalı State Road named Alpaslan Türkeş. All those five boulevards made a great junction around 100.Yıl Housing Coop towards Karaisalı County by north-west direction.

There were no sub-centers to disperse some official and financial burden of the traditional Central Business District functions. And also, no shopping centers had been planned too. Shops were allowed for the base and first floors of every building along the streets and boulevards. In fact, this plan was based on only for multi storey housing areas.

- **Municipal Housing** (Belediye Evleri)

So, the major part of the plans for those localities has been already completed as “Mass Housing Reservation Areas” since 1986. For the convenience of private constructors who works with “built and sale” methods and the landlords, some parts of the land surveys were done due to implementation plans approved and the title deeds were distributed to the owners besides the municipality as the owner of his parts, also. These said title deeds had been handed over the new owners of the site constructed that called Belediye Evleri (Municipal Houses). Municipality had constructed those housing areas with the support of government in provision of the credits and construction. The owners of the title deeds were low income groups. The houses had a space of 60m² in four or two storey. This support came as one of the means of Çukurova Urban Development Project.⁸⁹



FIGURE 6.2.-13: Model of Municipal Housing Site, 1986
(Mr. Saffet Atik's Archive)

⁸⁹ ÇOPUROĞLU, A. 2012: p:13



FIGURE 6.2.-14: 2000 Evler Housing Site, 2012 (by Google earth)

After that another site called 2000 Evler (2000 Houses) had been organized and handed over to the owners after the construction. The others had been changed in hands because of the long delays in constructions which some left unfinished. At the meantime, the Mayor and his party had lost the local elections.



FIGURE 6.2.-15: 2000 Evler Housing Site, (ÇOPUROĞLU, A.; p: 59)

- **ASSOCIATION OF ADANA HOUSING COOPERATIVES (Adana-Koop)**

Adana Metropolitan Municipality had decided to create a new expanding policy to the North and Northwest corridor in 1989. And select a new site where the land surveys were done due to implementation plans approved in 1986. So the 48 large parcels of land for the new housing blocks were selected at the northern localities namely Kireçocağı and Kanalüstü Bağlar districts as for mass housing construction areas.

Adana Metropolitan Municipality had already made the architectural and the engineering projects for approx. 60m² flats on 4 storey apartments on the total surface of 198,941m² urban lands. Then the municipality sold most of the shares of these title deeds prepared according to these projects to public. At the meantime, the Mayor and his party had lost the local elections.

The new elected Metropolitan Municipality administration has decided to make a call to the deed owners who were already organized in several housing cooperatives to establish an upper level association provide technical assistance and guidance to their member cooperatives in tendering, construction management and control, infrastructure provision, improvement of the housing environment, auditing and reaching to technical knowledge for easier collection of fees and payments besides providing economic mortgage credits.

Thus the housing cooperatives namely, SS Mavi Halk kent , SS Sarı Halk kent , SS Yeşil Halk kent, SS Kırmızı Halk kent, SS Öğretmen Kent and SS İşçi Kent have established the Union of Adana Housing Cooperatives which is Adana-Koop in short at the date of May 3rd, 1990. Adana-Koop became a member of central association named TURKKENT in the same year.

The administration of the association (Adana-Koop) organized serial meetings with the managers and the members of the cooperatives as well

as the members to obtain different views and ideas on housing projects and the future expectations for the site and social welfare.

Outcomes from the general assembly of every single cooperative had come out with nearly the same main topic besides a better environment with more green areas and shopping facilities were also added. The same main topic of these common outcomes was “the immediate need for the effective efforts on both urban land use planning and official approval level in municipalities for better and wider flats”.⁹⁰

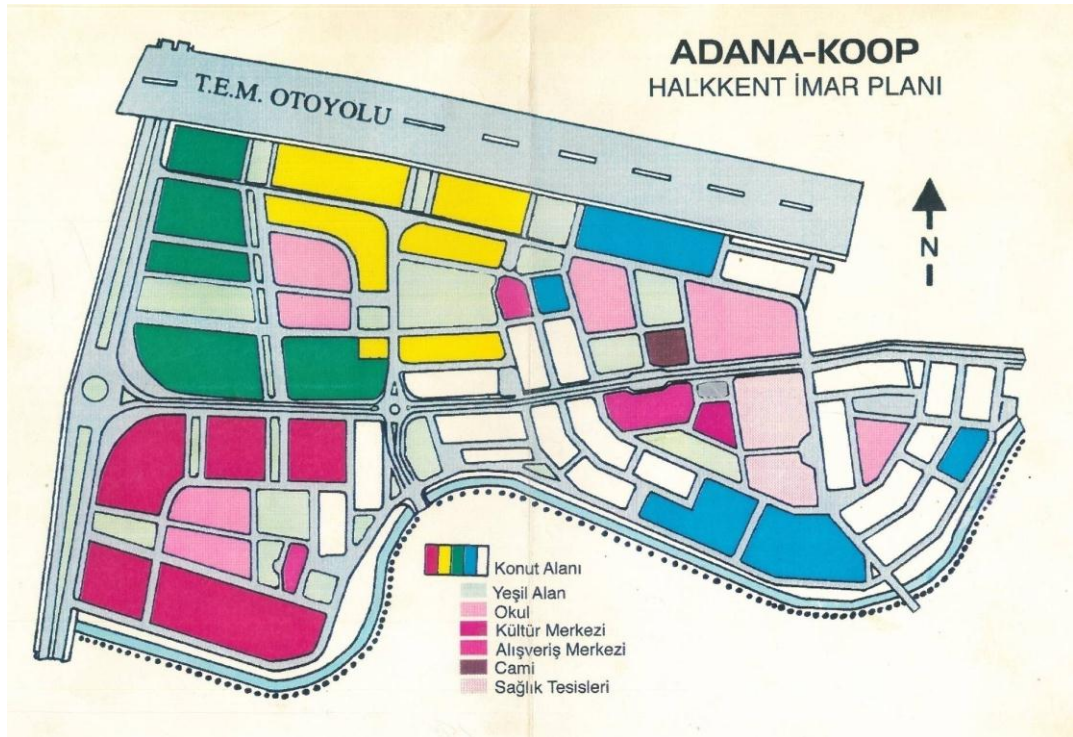


FIGURE 6.2-16: Halk Kent Cooperatives First Official Master Plan, scale: 1/5000, 1994 (Author's Archive)

⁹⁰ ADANA KOOP: *Danışma Kurulu Toplantıları-1993*,

Adana-Koop administration agreed with the general assembly decisions made by four Halk Kent Cooperatives and has started to work on new implementation plans with the architectural projects for the houses over 100m² with 3+1 rooms as shown in FIGURE:6.2-17 below.

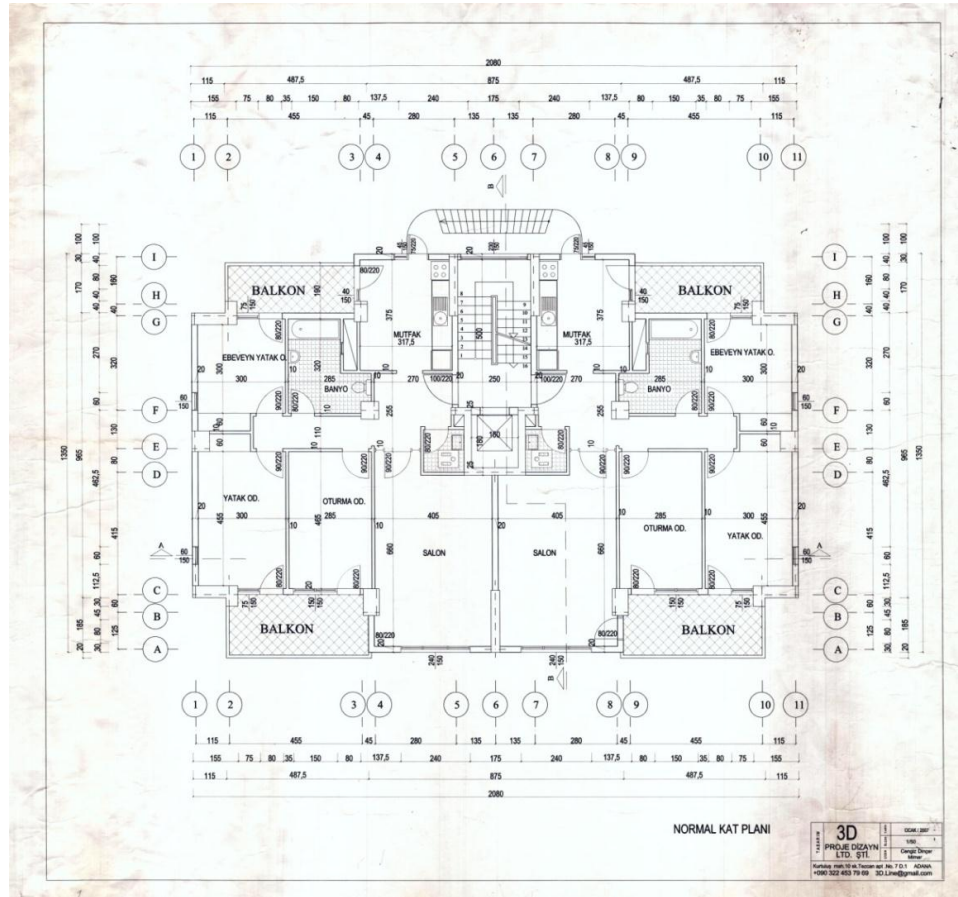


FIGURE 6.2-17: Halk Kent Coop. Standard Building Storey Plan, 2007
(Adana-Koop Archive)

In the meanwhile Adana Coop. administration has decided to establish a Project Consulting Committee on 1992 which consisted of Prof. Dr. Cevat Geray, Prof. Dr. Ruşen Keleş (Ankara Uni. Fac. of Political Sciences) Prof Dr. Erdoğan Gültekin (Cukurova Uni. Fac. of Agriculture), Prof. Dr. Cengiz Dünder, Doç. Dr. Tamer Gök and Doç. Dr. Yusuf Gürçınar, Doç. Dr. F. Yalçın Uğurlu (Cukurova Uni. Fac. of Eng. and Arch.), Tarhan Koldaş (M. Arch-past Coordinator of Batkent Coop) and Cüneyt K. Erginkaya (City

Planner and as Project owner).

There were seven meetings held with a vast contribution of Halk Kent Cooperatives members in 1993 and a book of “Minutes of Consulting Committee Meetings” was published in the same year.⁹¹

The official Master Plan for Halk Kent Cooperatives has been changed according to these arguments and presented to the local authorities. After the negotiations lasting few months the plan was officially approved by the Metropolitan Municipality. (See: FIGURE 6.2-18)

Meanwhile the necessary changes that made in master plan were adapted to the new implementation plans (scale: 1/1000) also and submitted to the Seyhan County Municipality of the time period. After long negotiations the plans were approved by the Seyhan County Municipality Council Decision no: 592 at the date 15.02.1994 and approved by the Metropolitan Municipality authorities.

The said changes in the implementation plans had done as follows:

- The total amount of green areas and streets with car parks were kept fixed within the cooperatives boundaries.
- Then the housing blocks were either combined or divided according to the sizes of buildings so that to set them in parcels within legal aspects.

As a result, building heights and size of the flats has been changed and a large area could be left vacant between them to use as wide gardens. So the constructions have been started at the site as for these new plans.

But in the meantime the Adana Metropolitan Municipality went to the court and claimed that these changes in the site were not processed properly in

⁹¹ ADANA KOOP: *Danışma Kurulu Toplantıları-1993*,

the Master Plans made for Adana. The constructions were again stopped until the court's decision.

The court has made his prior decision at the date 30.06.1997 and so made the final decision on behalf of the association. After this long break, the constructions have started again.

This time the negotiations have started again with Adana Metropolitan Municipality about the number of the lost members of the Halk Kent Cooperatives. The municipal authorities insisted on to divide the cooperatives into two parts both as legal bodies and land surface due to their percentage of ownership. After long and painful negotiations a new Master Plan has been designed over the new distribution of the land shares due to mutually exchanged between Adana Metropolitan Municipality and Halk Kent Cooperatives. Adana Metropolitan Municipality Council had accepted and approved the last Master Plan scale: 1/5000 with the Decision No: 361 at the date 06.06.2003. (See: FIGURE 6.2-19)

So the changes of the implementation plans designed according to this Master Plan have been submitted to Seyhan Municipality administration and accepted by the Seyhan County Municipality Council Decision no: 507 at the date 07.11.2003.

Adana Metropolitan Municipality approved the plans with both new changes in numbers of members and the number of land parcels.

Finally, the cooperatives could construct their larger houses (See: FIGURE 6.2-17) and with better south-east orientation in site (See: Plan 6.2-19) for Adana as they wish to live. There were total 30 Housing Cooperatives who were accepted by the association (Adana-Koop) as the member, and total 9,075 units of houses that built on approx. 350,000m² land surface areas, were handed over to the members of those cooperatives.

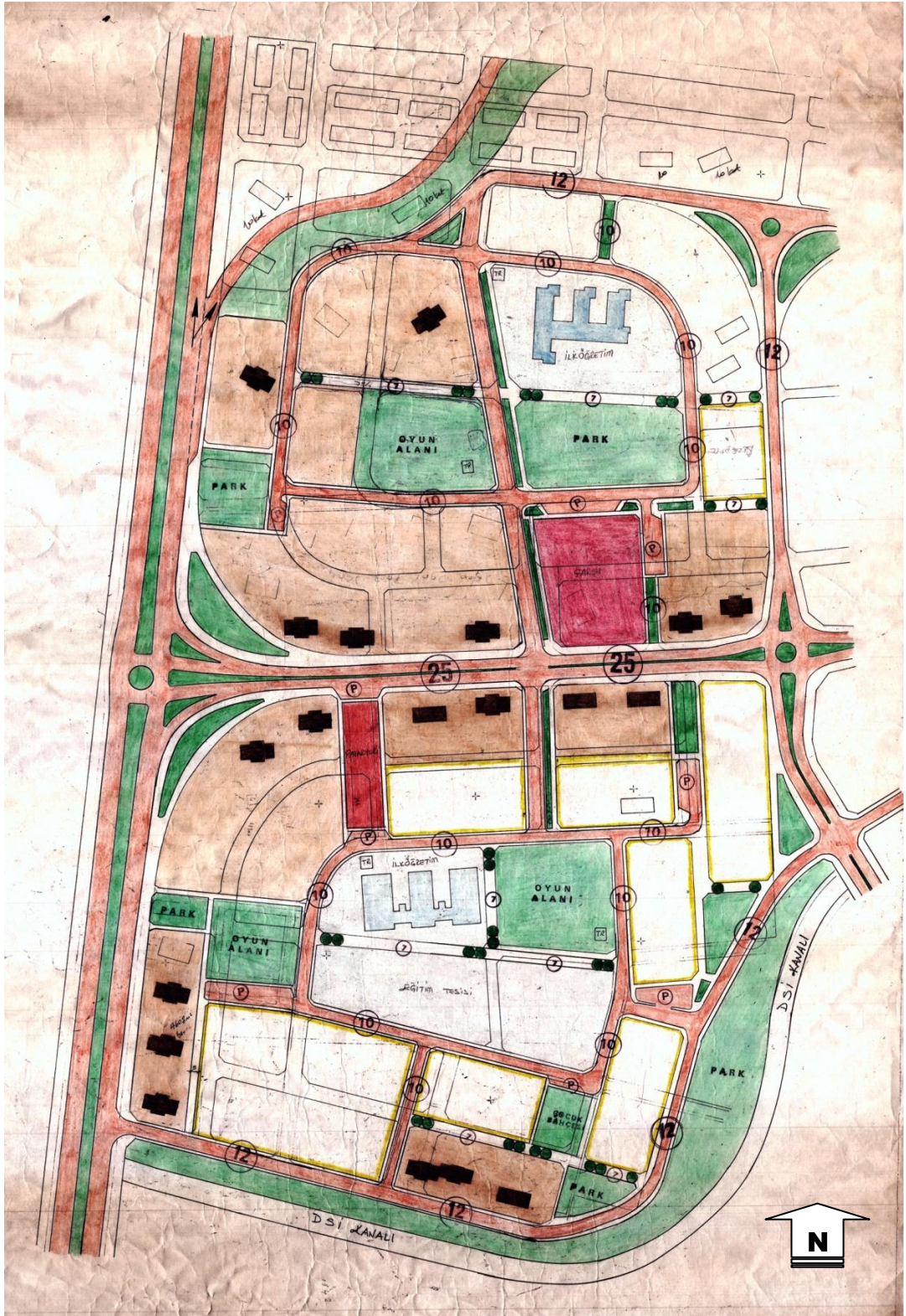


FIGURE 6.2.-18: ADANA-KOOP- The Preliminary Sketch of New Implementation Plan scale: 1/1000, 2003 (Author's archive).

ADANA KOOP. GENEL VAZİYET PLANI

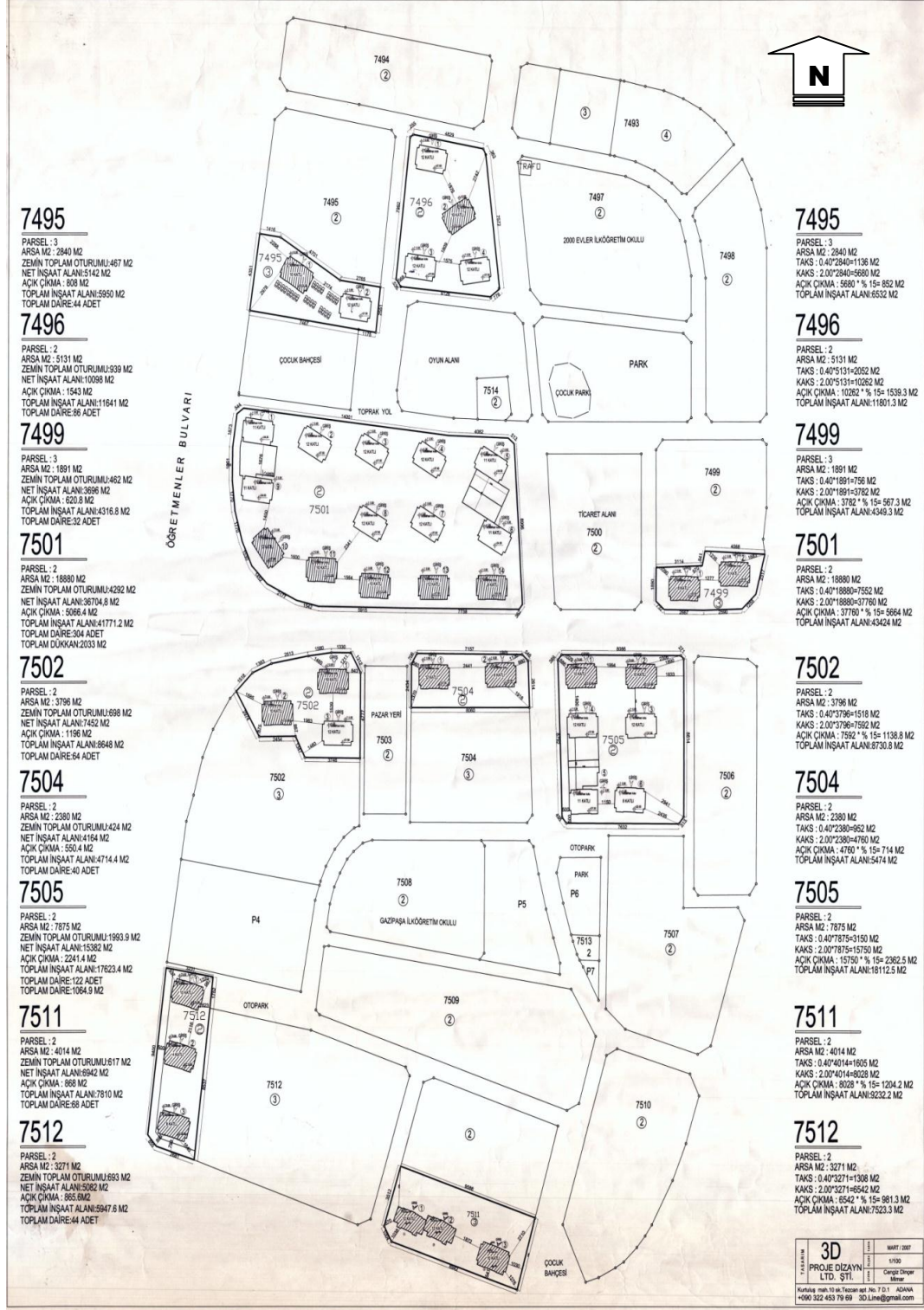


FIGURE 6.2.-19: ADANA-KOOP Site Plan scale: 1/1000, 2007 (Adana Koop Archive)

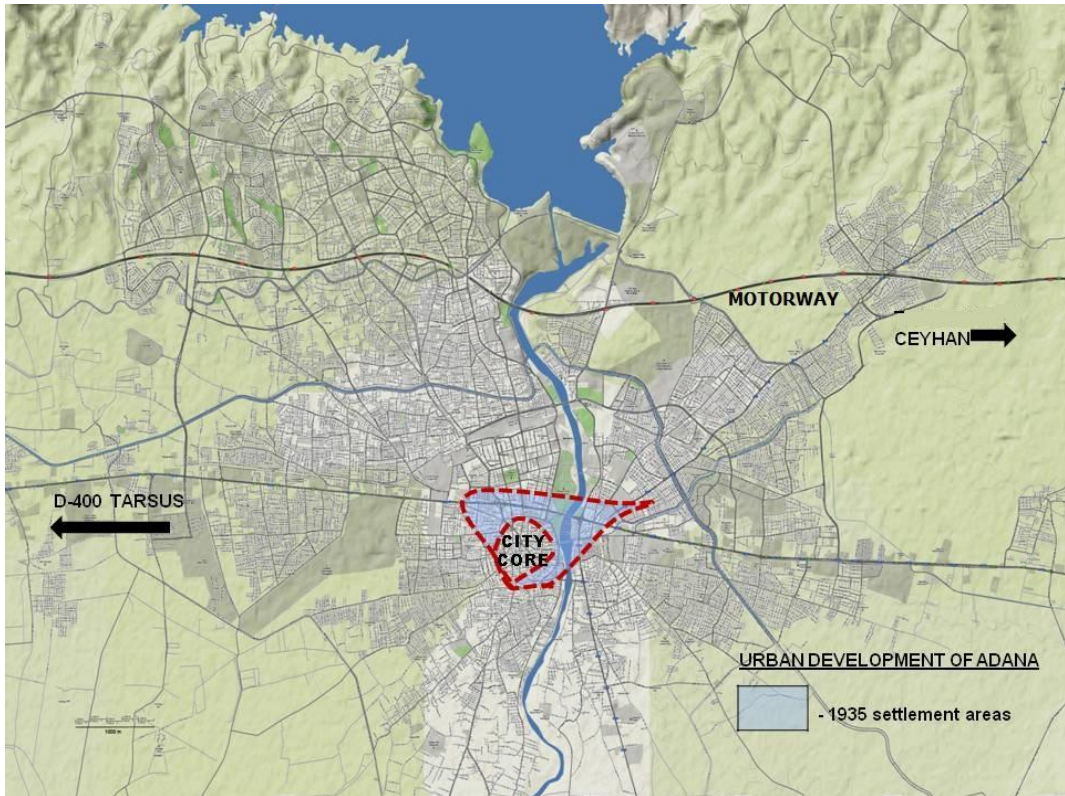


FIGURE 6.2.-20: Housing Development of Adana: Up to 1935 (Author's Draw)

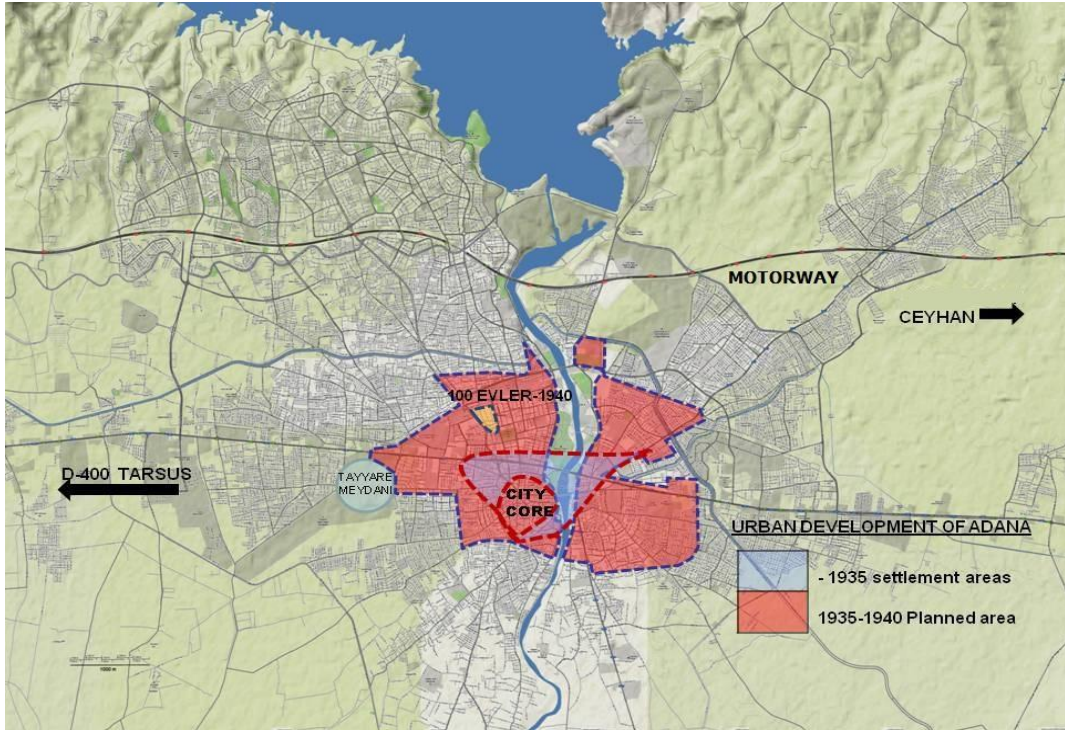


FIGURE 6.2.-21: Housing Development of Adana: 1935-1940 (Author's Draw)

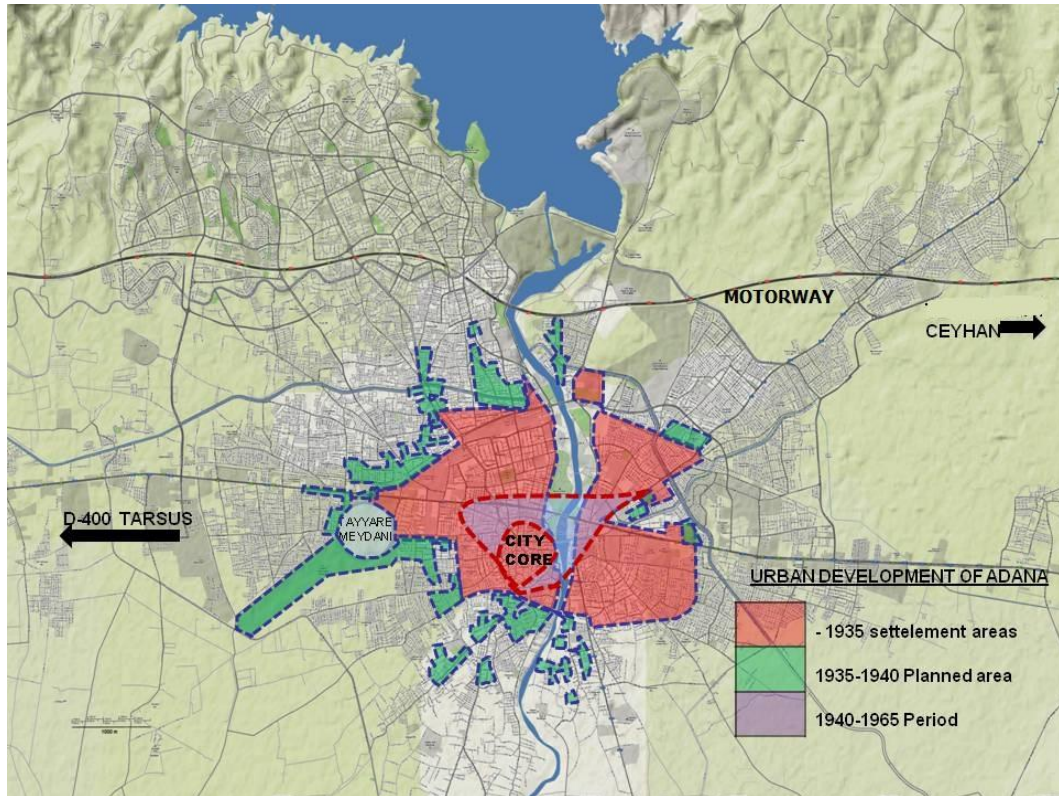


FIGURE 6.2.-22: Housing Development of Adana: 1935-1965 (Author's Draw)

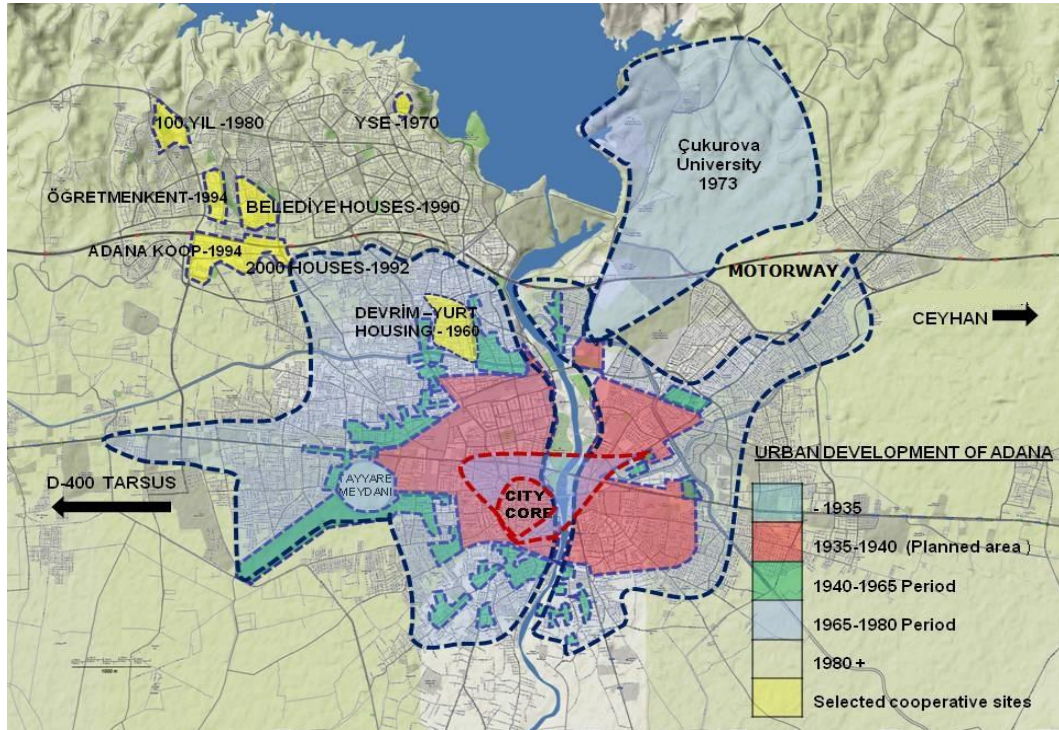


FIGURE 6.2.-23: Housing Development in Adana, years: 1935-1980 + (Author's Draw)

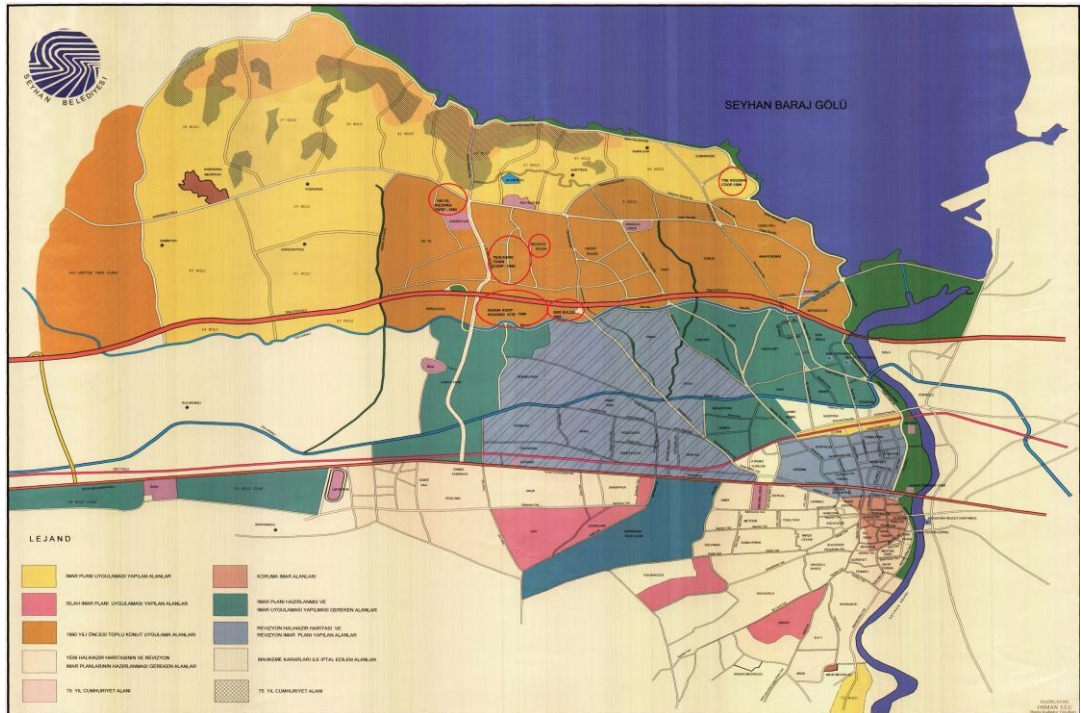


FIGURE 6.2.-24: Housing Development in West Adana: 1980-1990 (Seyhan Municipality archive)

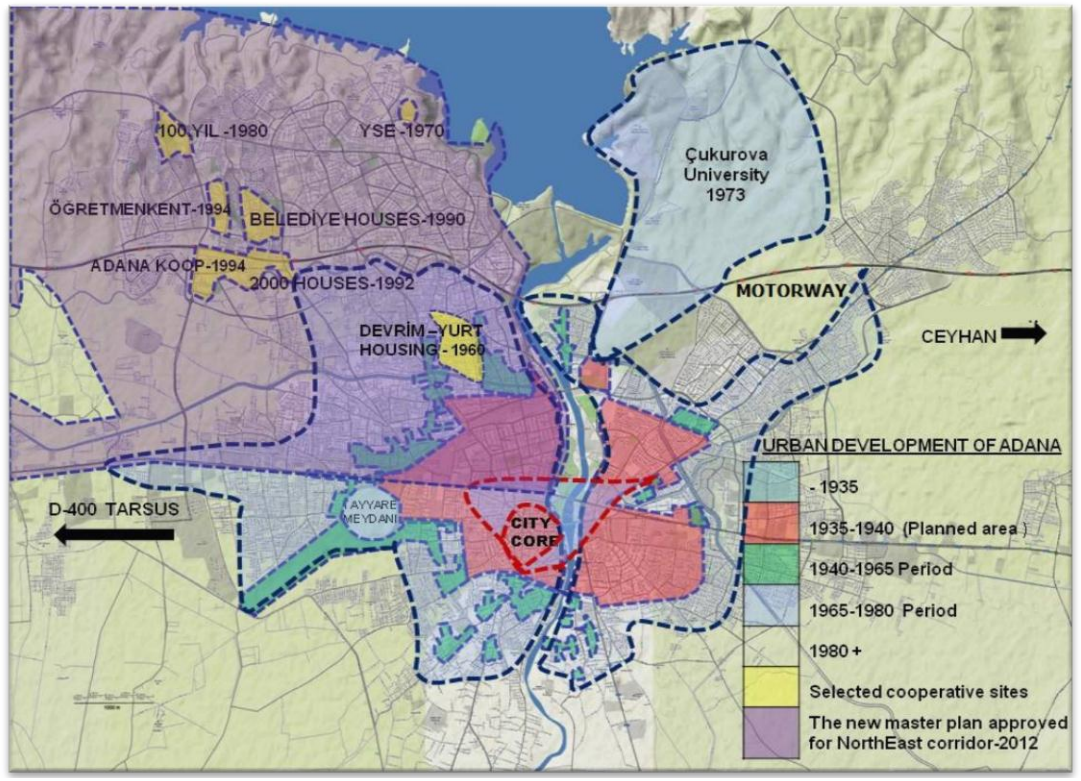


FIGURE 6.2.-25: Development in Adana, New Master Plan: 2012 (Author's Draw)

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Adana, as a city surrounded by fertile lands and located on major trade lines, has always undergone a rapid urbanization rate and has been subjected to large waves of migration, especially since 1950's. Adana does not have the economic potential to absorb the labor force, which has been carried to the city by the unavoidable migration flows, originating from the economic unbalances in the national scale.

In the rapidly changing urban life of Adana, the public authorities should undertake a guiding role by setting the infrastructure and stimulating the key sectors. Thus the private sector will be attracted and the technological know-how will be captured as well as the financial resources. As a pay back of the guiding role and the authorizations provided to the private sector, supportive social programs should be demanded.

The orientation of the housing cooperatives seemed to be a hidden power of impact in developing the city of Adana. This hidden impact has become visible slightly by Prof. Hermann Jansen Plans in 1940s with 100 Houses Movement and has started to expand step-wise up today.

Starting from 1960 with the militarist revolution, in nearly every decade, a cooperative had been founded with more members and in more surfaces of housing plots than former ones became the starter of this "*housing for the people*" movement.

There is no "new development and housing strategy" in Adana. In another words, housing sector was left to the private contractors who deal with

“yap&sat” method.⁹² But there is a small difference with past practices. This method was developed for an economic finance of housing constructions on the empty land plots but now it is used for the parcels with an existent building of one or few storey.

Author claimed in 2001 as “A close examination on new Master Plans of Adana City shows us that the spatial development will be going to the empty fields of north-west direction. This is a speculative expansion plan because there is no adequate spaces reserved for Shopping Centers, fair, hospitals, gas stations even for official usages, among dense and large multi-storey housing areas⁹³

Right after Güven Cooperative the new demands for supplementary plans of housing sites off the plan limits aroused in Ankara. This movement and political pressures had made Prof. Jansen complaint from expanding the city only for housing not with social and other means”⁹⁴

This was had to be done in two reasons:

One, some land owners wanted to leave his parcels vacant. By this they waited until constructions done most of the parcels around so that they can make more profits in other words the landlords wait for speculation.

The other is, to find a cheaper and larger land parcels with may be having better panorama. So that it will be better to make supplementary plans and housing projects according to their own needs and preferences.

The result of these demands and movements is a frustration in the implementation of plans. The balance of the planning areas is spoiled and the corruption occurs.

⁹² ERGİNKAYA, C.K.;1996, p:17

⁹³ ERGİNKAYA, C. K.; 2001, p:6

⁹⁴ TANKUT, G.; 1993, p:181, 262

But as being understood from the struggle between Adana-Koop and Adana Metropolitan Municipality, the local governments or the Municipal powers (mainly the mayor himself) always want to be the real impact or the only supreme decision-maker in developing city estates for gathering the benefits to any cost.

These benefits are either *political* ; like being elected again or stepping forward for the parliament or the *urban investment*; like providing vacant land of fields first, then developing them with the supplementary plans as new urban parcels, so that they will be more valuable than before.

Another outcome is, the housing cooperatives is one of the tools for local authorities to change the plans indirectly in order to succeed their intention, while this is the only way for low and middle income people in provision of a house, in spite of everything.

As a last word, the main problem here is still hiding in the below sentence:

“How fast, one can settle in his own cooperative house during his life time?”

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